MEMOIRS.

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KNIGHT OF THE GARTER

MEMOIRS

FROM 1754 TO 1758

BY

JAMES EARL WALDEGRAVE K G

ONE OF HIS MAJESTY'S PRIVY COUNCIL IN THE REIGN OF GEORGE II

AND GOVERNOR TO THE PRINCE OF WALES

AFTERWARDS GEORGE III

LONDON

JOHN MURRAY ALBEMARLE-STREET

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TO THE READER.

THE author of the following work was James, second Earl Waldegrave. He was descended from a very antient family, and born on 14 March, 1714-15.

His grandfather having married a daughter of James the Second, by Arabella Churchill, sister to the great Duke of Marlborough, was created by that king a baron, but never took his seat in the House of Lords. He was a Roman Catholic, followed his misguided sovereign into exile, and died in Paris in 1689. His son, who was also educated in the church of Rome, married the daughter

of Sir John Webbe, of Gloucestershire; but became a Protestant in 1722. The scandal excited among the Jacobites by his abjuration, and the manner in which it was resented by his uncle the Duke of Berwick, dispelled all suspicions of remaining disaffection to the Protestant succession; and his personal qualities and character, aided by that consideration, recommended him to successive ministers of the House of Hanover. He was accordingly advanced to offices of considerable trust; and after a mission of compliment to France in 1725, was appointed embassador to Vienna in 1727; and three years afterwards succeeded the brother of Sir Robert Walpole, in the yet more important embassy to the court of Versailles, where he resided till 1740. During these services abroad, he was created a viscount, an earl, and knight

of the garter: he died at Navestock in 1741. His eldest son, the author of these Memoirs, succeeded to his titles and property. He seems at an early period of life to have been well instructed in antient and modern languages; but we have been hitherto unable to ascertain the place of his education, and the names of those entrusted with the care of it.

Whatever were his attainments, he did not enter the world with all the advantages which hold forth to young men of his rank in life the prospects of power and distinction. With an excellent understanding, an amiable disposition, and no inconsiderable stock of knowledge, his personal appearance was not prepossessing. And though his father had served the crown in foreign missions, the state of parties still rendered Catholic and Jacobite connexions

very formidable barriers to promotion at court. That Lord Waldegrave was enabled to surmount them so rapidly, was owing to the personal favour of George the Second. Great discernment or liberality have seldom been ascribed to that prince by his historians; yet in his conduct to our author, he certainly displayed both. He selected for his private friend, a man of sense, honour, and sincerity, who had few exterior graces to recommend him; and at a period of no unreasonable alarm, he placed him, though a near relation of his competitor for the crown, immediately about his own person. Lord Waldegrave was appointed a lord of the bedchamber in 1743. Such offices were then held in high estimation; they often led to favour and greatness. It was in the spirit of those times to be more greedy of imaginary honours, than obsequious to real power. Noblemen

of the first rank sought with avidity employments which their descendants regard with indifference, or reject with disdain, as badges of dependence, rather than marks of distinction or importance. The situation gave Lord Waldegrave free access to the king; and the changes which shortly ensued, afforded him many opportunities of proving his attachment to his Majesty, of ascertaining the secrets of government, and observing the characters of those who had the chief influence on public affairs.

On the death of Frederick Prince of Wales, the king seized the opportunity of obliging Lord Waldegrave, by making him master of the Stannaries. Lord Orford, in mentioning this appointment, says of him *, that " his complaisance was sufficient to

* Memoires of 1751, vol. i. p. 79.

" cover folly or ill-nature; but in him really
" concealed a good understanding, and made
" his good-nature less observed."

In the course of two years, violent disagreements in the family of the young Prince of Wales led to the removal or resignation of his governor, Earl Harcourt. The office, in itself a trust of the highest importance, required at that period an unusual portion of discretion, temper, and firmness. The king very rightly judged, that the acknowledged favour of the sovereign was necessary to give weight to the authority of the new governor. Without such support he could never repress the squabbles and cabals which had already disconcerted one arrangement for his grandson's household and education. He therefore pressed the appointment on Lord Waldegrave, who very reluctantly complied with

his commands. "Many," says * Lord Orford, "were named, and many refused it. At "last, after long waving it, Lord Walde-"grave accepted it at the earnest request "of the king, and after repeated assurances "of the submission and tractability of Stone. "The earl was averse to it. He was a man "of pleasure, understood the court, was firm "in the king's favor, easy in his circum-"stances, and at once undesirous of rising, and afraid to fall. He said to a friend, "If I dared, I would make this excuse to "the king,—*Sir, I am too young to govern,* "*and too old to be governed.* But he was "forced to submit. A man of stricter honor "and of more reasonable sense could not "have been selected for the employment; "yet as the Whig zeal had caught flame, even

* Memoires, vol. i. p. 255.

"this choice was severely criticized. Lord "Waldegrave's grandmother was daughter "to James the Second, his family were all "papists, and his father had been but the "first convert."

Such is Lord Orford's account of his appointment, and of the sensation produced by it. Lord Waldegrave's conduct in the delicate charge with which he was entrusted, will be best collected from his own plain exposition of it in the following work. He failed in acquiring the confidence of his pupil; and he does not seem to have ingratiated himself with the Princess Dowager, who always suspected him, and in the language of the writer so frequently quoted, "took for a spy, a man who would even "have scorned to employ one." The circumstances attending his resignation, and his

efforts to assist the king in negotiating various new administrations at the commencement of the seven years' war, form the chief subjects of the following narrative, as well as the most important passages of his political life. If, in his endeavours to serve his royal friend and benefactor, he did not strictly adhere to the purest maxims of our parliamentary government, it must be admitted, that his attempt may be reconciled to the ordinary theories, and to the letter of our constitution; that it sprung from the most disinterested, generous, and laudable motives; that it was sustained with great resolution and fidelity, and that it was finally abandoned in a manner creditable to his temper and judgment, and without the slightest impeachment of his honour as a man, or of his spirit as a politician.

The testimony of contemporaries, and the

whole tenor of his subsequent conduct, prove that his professed indifference to power was sincere. He had, indeed, enjoyed the confidence of his sovereign, been named first lord of the treasury, and laboured to complete an administration of which he was to be the head. But the failure of these projects, as they originated in his devotion to the king, and not in personal ambition, never gave him one moment's uneasiness. In cheerful retirement he candidly acknowledged the merits of those whom he had been employed to exclude; and he rejoiced, without affectation or hypocrisy, at the success with which their counsels were crowned.

If the loss of the more splendid prizes of ambition never affected the spirits of Lord Waldegrave, his private fortunes and domestic happiness were sufficient to satisfy a man of

less bounded expectations. The Tellership of the Exchequer, of which he had the reversion, devolved upon him in 1757, and rendered his circumstances not only easy, but affluent. In 1759, he married the natural daughter of Sir Edward Walpole, a lady * of exquisite beauty, who notwithstanding the disparity of age, had the sense to value the society and the feeling to return the affections, of her husband. Lord Waldegrave passed his remaining years in the enjoyments of private life. He had a cultivated mind, and a cheerful temper. Literature and society were his chief occupations. After the death of George the Second, he had indeed little temptation to engage in political pursuits. His royal pupil, now his sovereign, had never regarded him with an eye

* Afterwards Duchess of Gloucester.

of favour; and Lord Waldegrave, though of the mildest disposition, had too much dignity of character to attempt to efface impressions to his disadvantage, when he was satisfied on reflection that the part of his conduct which had produced them was not only irreproachable, but meritorious. He seems to have abstained from all political connexions during the two first years of the reign of George the Third. If he preserved any, it must have been with the Duke of Cumberland, the son of his benefactor and friend. In 1763, however, on the conclusion of the peace, great endeavours were made to engage him in the administration, which was threatened by the powerful combination in opposition of the Duke of Cumberland, the great Whig families, and Mr. Pitt. But his old prejudices against Lord Bute; his warm

attachment to the Duke of Cumberland, and perhaps his love of ease, more than either of those motives, prevailed. He declined every offer from government. His Royal Highness the Duke is reported to have said, that to his knowledge, death itself, which ensued so shortly afterwards, would have been more welcome to Lord Waldegrave, than any union with Lord Bute or Mr. Fox. He unquestionably rejected all offers of employment, on the 31st March, 1763. He was taken ill the next day. His disorder was pronounced to be the small pox; but notwithstanding the virulence of the disease, and his sense of danger, his family and friends derived some glimmerings of hope from the extraordinary serenity of his temper. Some instances of the playfulness of his conversation, even on his death-bed, are recorded in two very feeling and eloquent

letters of Lord Orford to Mr. George Montagu. They give an amiable picture of our author and his family, and prove the high respect which his talents and virtues had inspired. He died on the 28th of April. The testimony of his friends, the events of his life, and the following work, sufficiently describe his character. Though at all times conversant with the political transactions of his day, and at one period actively engaged in them, he possessed no parliamentary talents. We have before remarked, that, courtier and favourite as he was, he had few exterior graces to recommend him, and was at little pains to improve the scanty portion which nature had conferred upon him. Lord Orford styles his person "*unlovely*;" and in that sprightly writer's correspondence, his slovenly habits are more than once the object of ridicule. But the mild-

ness of his temper, the sagacity of his understanding, and even the manliness of his character, seem to have recommended him to the court of George the Second. Certain it is, that if he could not pretend to all the polish of a court, he was equally exempt from all taint of servility and deceit. Private correspondence and family tradition bear testimony to his frankness and sincerity, to the correctness of his taste, the soundness of his judgment, and the benevolence of his disposition. But it was reserved for the publication of this work, to revive the respect felt by contemporaries for his virtues and talents, and to vindicate the warm and panegyrical language of the following epitaph, inscribed to his memory in Navestock church, from the imputation of that flattery, which so often encumbers with

" *its thousand lies*" the monuments of our statesmen and politicians.

" He died of the small pox, aged 48. These were his " years in number; what they were in wisdom, hardly belongs " to time. The universal respect paid to him while he lived, " and the universal lamentation at his death, are ample testi- " monies of a character not easily to be paralleled. He was " for many years the chosen friend and favourite of a king, " who was a judge of men, yet never that king's minister, " though a man of business, knowledge, and learning, beyond " most of his cotemporaries; but ambition visited him not, " and contentment filled his hours. Appealed to for his " arbitration by various contending parties in the state, upon " the highest differences, his judgment always tempered their " dissentions, while his own principles, which were the free- " dom of the people and the maintenance of the laws, re- " mained stedfast and unshaken, and his influence unimpaired, " though exercised through a long series of struggles, that " served as foils to his disinterested virtue. The constancy " and firmness of his mind were proof against every tryal but " the distresses of mankind; and therein he was a rock with " many springs, and his generosity was as the waters that " flow from it, nourishing the plains beneath. He was wise " in the first degree of wisdom, master of a powerful and " delicate wit, had a ready conception and as quick parts as " any man that ever lived, and never lost his wisdom in his " wit, nor his coolness by provocation. He smiled at things

" that drive other men to anger. He was a stranger to re-
" sentment, not to injuries; those feared him most that loved
" him, yet he was revered by all; for he was as true a friend
" as ever bore that name, and as generous an enemy as ever
" bad man tried. He was in all things undisturbed, modest,
" placid, and humane. To him broad day-light and the com-
" merce of the world, were as easy as the night and solitude.
" To him the return of night and solitude must have been
" a season of ever blest reflection. To him this now deep
" night must, through the merits of his Redeemer Jesus Christ,
" be everlasting peace and joy.

" O death, thy sting is to the living! O grave, thy vic-
" tory is over the unburied! the wife—the child—the friend
" that is left behind.

" Thus saith the widow of this incomparable man, his
" once most happy wife, now the faithful remembrancer of
" all his virtues, Maria Countess Dowager of Waldegrave,
" who inscribes this tablet to his beloved memory."

The work is printed from a manuscript in the hand-writing of the author, which was found by his heirs after his death, and has remained ever since that event in the possession of the Waldegrave family. It was communicated to Lord Orford, who speaks of it with great praise in his printed corre-

spondence*, and shows, by borrowing many remarks and even expressions from it in his Memoires, that he had perused it with diligence and attention. It was manifestly intended for posterity, though no injunction was left as to the period or mode of giving it to the public. The present time cannot possibly be liable to any objection. From the long reign of His late Majesty, the publication of it has been probably further removed from the period of which the work treats, than the author ever contemplated.

The duties of the editor have been very simple and easy. Not a syllable has been suppressed. Neither comment nor emendation have been found necessary. His humble labours have been confined to the correction of the press, and the annexation of a few marginal notes for the convenience of the

* Letters to Mr. Montague, 1763.

reader. He has indeed subjoined in the Appendix some original letters, which had been communicated to him. They are but slightly connected with the main subject of the Memoirs; but they elucidate a passage in the text, and not being devoid of interest in themselves, may serve to demonstrate the accuracy of Lord Waldegrave's information, even on previous or collateral transactions, to which, in the course of his narrative, he incidentally alludes.

On the matter, style, and composition of the Memoirs, the reader, not the editor, must pronounce. To the latter they certainly appear to be the work of a scholar, a gentleman, and a philosopher; and he is much deceived if they will not be regarded as an acquisition to the history and literature of the country.

MEMOIRS.

MEMOIRS,

FROM

1754 TO 1758.

I SHALL give a short account of our political contentions, party quarrels, and of all events of any consequence, from the beginning of the year 1754 to the middle of June, 1757. Introduction.

I will advance no facts which are not strictly true, and do not mean to misrepresent any man; but will make no professions of impartiality, because I take it for granted that it is not in my power to be quite unprejudiced.

Having given this caution, I shall sketch out the

1758.
Introduction.

portraits of some of the principal actors, endeavouring rather to preserve a likeness, than to catch the eye with the beauties of colouring or of high finishing.

THE KING.

The King.

The King is in his 75th year; but temperance and an excellent constitution have hitherto preserved him from many of the infirmities of old age.

He has a good understanding, though not of the first class; and has a clear insight into men and things, within a certain compass.

He is accused by his ministers of being hasty and passionate when any measure is proposed which he does not approve of; though, within the compass of my own observation, I have known few persons of high rank who could bear contradiction better, provided the intention was apparently good, and the manner decent.

When any thing disagreeable passes in the closet, when any of his ministers happen to displease him, it cannot long remain a secret; for his countenance

can never dissemble: but to those servants who attend his person, and do not disturb him with frequent solicitations, he is ever gracious and affable.

1758.

The King.

Even in the early part of life he was fond of business; at present, it is become almost his only amusement.

He has more knowledge of foreign affairs than most of his ministers, and has good general notions of the constitution, strength, and interest of this country: but being past thirty when the Hanover succession took place, and having since experienced the violence of party, the injustice of popular clamor, the corruption of parliaments, and the selfish motives of pretended patriots, it is not surprising that he should have contracted some prejudices in favor of those governments where the royal authority is under less restraint.

Yet prudence has so far prevailed over these prejudices, that they have never influenced his conduct. On the contrary, many laws have been enacted in favor of public liberty; and in the course of a long reign, there has not been a single attempt to extend the prerogative of the crown beyond its proper limits.

1758.

The King.

He has as much personal bravery as any man, though his political courage seems somewhat problematical: however, it is a fault on the right side; for had he always been as firm and undaunted in the closet as he shewed himself at Oudenarde and Dettingen, he might not have proved quite so good a king in this limited monarchy.

In the drawing-room, he is gracious and polite to the ladies, and remarkably cheerful and familiar with those who are handsome, or with the few of his old acquaintance who were beauties in his younger days.

His conversation is very proper for a tête-à-tête: he then talks freely on most subjects, and very much to the purpose; but he cannot discourse with the same ease, nor has he the faculty of laying aside the king in a larger company: not even in those parties of pleasure which are composed of his most intimate acquaintance.

His servants are never disturbed with any unnecessary waiting; for he is regular in all his motions to the greatest exactness, except on particular occasions, when he outruns his own orders, and expects those who are to attend him before the time of his

appointment. This may easily be accounted for: he has a restless mind, which requires constant exercise; his affairs are not sufficient to fill up the day; his amusements are without variety, and have lost their relish; he becomes fretful and uneasy, merely for want of employment; and presses forward to meet the succeeding hour before it arrives.

Too great attention to money seems to be his capital failing; however, he is always just, and sometimes charitable, though seldom generous: but when we consider how rarely the liberality of princes is directed to the proper object, being usually bestowed on a rapacious mistress or an unworthy favorite, want of generosity, though it still continues a blot, ceases, at least, to be a vice of the first magnitude.

Upon the whole, he has some qualities of a great prince, many of a good one, none which are essentially bad; and I am thoroughly convinced that hereafter, when time shall have wore away those specks and blemishes which sully the brightest characters, and from which no man is totally exempt, he will be numbered amongst those patriot kings, under whose government the people have enjoyed the greatest happiness.

1758.

PRINCE OF WALES.

Prince of Wales.

The Prince of Wales is entering into his 21st year, and it would be unfair to decide upon his character in the early stages of life, when there is so much time for improvement.

His parts, though not excellent, will be found very tolerable, if ever they are properly exercised.

He is strictly honest, but wants that frank and open behaviour which makes honesty appear amiable.

When he had a very scanty allowance, it was one of his favorite maxims that men should be just before they are generous: his income is now very considerably augmented, but his generosity has not increased in equal proportion.

His religion is free from all hypocrisy, but is not of the most charitable sort; he has rather too much attention to the sins of his neighbour.

He has spirit, but not of the active kind; and does not want resolution, but it is mixed with too much obstinacy.

He has great command of his passions, and will

seldom do wrong, except when he mistakes wrong for right; but as often as this shall happen, it will be difficult to undeceive him, because he is uncommonly indolent, and has strong prejudices.

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Prince of Wales.

His want of application and aversion to business would be far less dangerous, was he eager in the pursuit of pleasure; for the transition from pleasure to business is both shorter and easier than from a state of total inaction.

He has a kind of unhappiness in his temper, which, if it be not conquered before it has taken too deep a root, will be a source of frequent anxiety. Whenever he is displeased, his anger does not break out with heat and violence; but he becomes sullen and silent, and retires to his closet; not to compose his mind by study or contemplation, but merely to indulge the melancholy enjoyment of his own ill humor. Even when the fit is ended, unfavorable symptoms very frequently return, which indicate that on certain occasions his Royal Highness has too correct a memory.

Though I have mentioned his good and bad qualities, without flattery, and without aggravation,

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Prince of Wales.

allowances should still be made, on account of his youth, and his bad education: for though the Bishop of Peterborough, now * Bishop of Salisbury, the preceptor; Mr. Stone, the sub-governor; and Mr. Scott, the sub-preceptor, were men of sense, men of learning, and worthy, good men, they had but little weight and influence. The mother and the nursery always prevailed.

During the course of the last year, there has, indeed, been some alteration; the authority of the nursery has gradually declined, and the Earl of Bute, by the assistance of the mother, has now the intire confidence. But whether this change will be greatly to his Royal Highness's advantage, is a nice question, which cannot hitherto be determined with any certainty.

DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

Duke of Newcastle.

The Duke of Newcastle is in his thirty-fifth year of ministerial longevity; has been much abused, much flattered, and still more ridiculed.

* Dr. John Thomas.

1758.

Duke of Newcastle.

From the year 1724 to the year 42 he was Secretary of State, acting under Sir Robert Walpole: he continued in the same station during Lord Granville's short administration: but Granville, who had the parts and knowledge, yet had not, at all times, the discretion of an able minister, treated him with too much contempt; especially as he wanted his assistance in the House of Commons, where he had little interest of his own.

After Granville's defeat, the Duke of Newcastle and Mr. Pelham became joint ministers: here he seems to have reached the highest degree of power where he can reasonably hope to maintain himself.

Ambition, fear, and jealousy, are his prevailing passions.

In the midst of prosperity and apparent happiness, the slightest disappointment, or any imaginary evil, will, in a moment, make him miserable: his mind can never be composed; his spirits are always agitated. Yet this constant ferment, which would wear out and destroy any other man, is perfectly agreeable to his constitution: he is at the very per-

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Duke of Newcastle.

fection of health, when his fever is at the greatest height.

His character is full of inconsistencies; the man would be thought very singular who differed as much from the rest of the world as he differs from himself.

If we consider how many years he has continued in the highest employments; that he has acted a very considerable part amongst the most considerable persons of his own time; that, when his friends have been routed, he has still maintained his ground; that he has incurred his Majesty's displeasure on various occasions, but has always carried his point, and has soon been restored both to favor and confidence; it cannot be denied that he possesses some qualities of an able minister. Yet view him in a different light, and our veneration will be somewhat abated. Talk with him concerning public or private business, of a nice or delicate nature, he will be found confused, irresolute, continually rambling from the subject, contradicting himself almost every instant.

Hear him speak in parliament, his manner is ungraceful, his language barbarous, his reasoning

inconclusive. At the same time, he labours through all the confusion of a debate without the least distrust of his own abilities; fights boldly in the dark; never gives up the cause; nor is he ever at a loss either for words or argument.

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Duke of Newcastle.

His professions and promises are not to be depended on, though, at the time they are made, he often means to perform them; but is unwilling to displease any man by a plain negative, and frequently does not recollect that he is under the same engagements to at least ten competitors.

If he cannot be esteemed a steady friend, he has never shewn himself a bitter enemy; and his forgiveness of injuries proceeds as much from good nature as it does from policy.

Pride is not to be numbered amongst his faults; on the contrary, he deviates into the opposite extreme, and courts popularity with such extravagant eagerness, that he frequently descends to an undistinguishing and illiberal familiarity.

Neither can he be accused of avarice, or of rapaciousness; for though he will give bribes, he is above accepting them; and instead of having en-

1758.

Duke of Newcastle.

riched himself at the expence of his master, or of the public, he has greatly impaired a very considerable estate by electioneering, and keeping up a good parliamentary interest, which is commonly, though perhaps improperly, called the service of the crown.

His extraordinary care of his health is a jest even amongst his flatterers. As to his jealousy, it could not be carried to a higher pitch, if every political friend was a favorite mistress.

He is in his sixty-fourth or sixty-fifth year, yet thirsts for power in a future reign with the greatest solicitude; and hereafter, should he live to see a Prince of Wales, of a year old, he will still look forward, not without expectation that in due course of time he may be his minister also.

Upon the whole, he seems tolerably well qualified to act a second part, but wants both spirit and capacity to be first in command: neither has he the smallest particle of that elevation of mind, or of that dignity of behaviour, which command respect, and characterise the great statesman.

1758.

MR. PITT.

Mr. Pitt has the finest genius, improved by study and all the ornamental part of classical learning. Mr. Pitt.

He came early into the House of Commons, where he soon distinguished himself; lost a cornetcy of horse, which was then his only subsistence; and in less than twenty years has raised himself to be first minister, and the most powerful subject in this country.

He has a peculiar clearness and facility of expression; and has an eye as significant as his words. He is not always a fair or conclusive reasoner, but commands the passions with sovereign authority; and to inflame or captivate a popular assembly is a consummate orator. He has courage of every sort, cool or impetuous, active or deliberate.

At present he is the guide and champion of the people: whether he will long continue their friend seems somewhat doubtful. But if we may judge from his natural disposition, as it has hitherto shewn itself,

1758. Mr. Pitt. his popularity and zeal for public liberty will have the same period: for he is imperious, violent, and implacable; impatient even of the slightest contradiction; and, under the mask of patriotism, has the despotic spirit of a tyrant.

However, though his political sins are black and dangerous, his private character is irreproachable; he is incapable of a treacherous or ungenerous action; and in the common offices of life is justly esteemed a man of veracity and a man of honor.

He mixes little in company, confining his society to a small juncto of his relations, with a few obsequious friends, who consult him as an oracle, admire his superior understanding, and never presume to have an opinion of their own.

This separation from the world is not entirely owing to pride, or an unsociable temper; as it proceeds partly from bad health and a weak constitution. But he may find it an impassable barrier in the road of ambition; for though the mob can sometimes raise a minister, he must be supported by persons of higher rank, who may be mean enough in some

particulars, yet will not be the patient followers of any man who despises their homage and avoids their solicitations. 1758. Mr. Pitt.

Besides, it is a common observation, that men of plain sense and cool resolution have more useful talents, and are better qualified for public business, than the man of the finest parts, who wants temper, judgement, and knowledge of mankind. Even parliamentary abilities may be too highly rated; for between the man of eloquence and the sagacious statesman there is a wide interval.

However, if Mr. Pitt should maintain his power a few years, observation and experience may correct many faults, and supply many deficiencies: in the mean time, even his enemies must allow that he has the firmness and activity of a great minister; that he has hitherto conducted the war with spirit, vigor, and tolerable success; and though some favorite schemes may have been visionary and impracticable, they have at least been more honorable and less dangerous than the passive, unperforming pusillanimity of the late administration.

1754. Mr. Pelham. Mr. Pelham died in March, 1754; and our tranquillity, both at home and abroad, expired with him.

He had acquired the reputation of an able and honest minister; had a plain, solid understanding, improved by experience in business, as well as by a thorough knowledge of the world; and without being an orator, or having the finest parts, no man in the House of Commons argued with more weight, or was heard with greater attention.

He was a frugal steward to the public, averse to continental extravagance and useless subsidies; preferring a tolerable peace to the most successful war; jealous to maintain his personal credit and authority; but nowise inattentive to the true interest of his country.

Mr. Fox. Fox, at that time Secretary at War, was thought the most proper person to be his successor, under certain limitations; but the Duke of Newcastle very prudently considered that a man of Fox's abilities who held the purse, regulated our finances, and governed the House of Commons, must, in effect, be first minister. He therefore took the resolution of presiding himself at the head of the Treasury, and

made choice of Legge to be his Chancellor of the Exchequer, thinking him a quiet man who understood the business of his office, and having been accustomed to act in a subordinate station, would do whatever he was directed. 1754. Mr. Fox.

Fox was now to be Secretary of State, and, under the Duke of Newcastle, to have the conduct of the House of Commons; the articles of union being settled by the Marquis of Hartington, with all the appearance of mutual satisfaction. But before the treaty could be carried into execution, the Duke of Newcastle changed his mind: however, not daring to deny his agreement with Lord Hartington, he endeavoured to palliate, explain, and excuse himself: that his anxiety of mind, the affliction of his family, and grief for the loss of his brother, had quite disordered his memory: that possibly he might have expressed his meaning in improper words; but certainly it could never have been his intention to give Fox that share of power which he now claimed. Fox, on the other hand, would make no abatement; wrote a letter of refusal, was immediately taken at his word: Sir Thomas Robinson was made Secretary

1754.

Mr. Fox. of State, and the Duke of Newcastle became nominally the sole minister.

Lord Hardwick. But without affecting the name or parade of a minister, Lord Hardwick had also great weight and authority. He was undoubtedly an excellent Chancellor, and might have been thought a great man, had he been less avaricious, less proud, less unlike a gentleman, and not so great a politician.

Parties. Before I proceed further in my narrative, it may be necessary to make some observations on the several parties which divided the court and parliament.

When the Hanover succession took place, the Whigs became the possessors of all the great offices and other lucrative employments; since which time, instead of quarrelling with the prerogative, they have been the champions of every administration.

However, they have not always been united in one body, under one general, like a regular and well-disciplined army; but may more aptly be compared to an alliance of different clans, fighting in the same cause, professing the same principles, but influenced and guided by their different chieftains.

Amongst these, the party of the Pelhams was undoubtedly the strongest; for besides the personal interest of both brothers, which was very considerable, they had long been the distributers of all the favors of the crown; the last House of Commons had been elected whilst they were joint ministers; and the Duke of Newcastle was to begin his administration with the choice of a new parliament. 1754. Pelhams.

Fox had also many personal friends, and more political followers; being looked upon as the rising minister in the House of Commons, in case either of Mr. Pelham's death, resignation, or removal to the House of Peers. Mr. Fox.

He had, moreover, the support of the Duke of Cumberland, and the distribution of military preferment; which added greatly to his strength, by furnishing the means of gratifying his dependents.

At the same time, though Fox derived these advantages from his attachment to the duke, the prejudice might, upon the whole, be still greater than the benefit.

His Royal Highness had strong parts, great Duke of Cumberland.

1754. military abilities, undoubted courage, and had gained

Duke of Cumberland. the victory of Culloden, which saved this country.

But his popularity ended with the rebellion; his services were immediately forgot, and he became the object of fear and jealousy.

The severe treatment of Scotland, after the defeat of the rebels, was imputed to his cruel and sanguinary disposition; even the army had been taught to complain of the unnecessary strictness of his discipline; that they were treated rather like Germans than Englishmen. All his good qualities were overlooked, all his faults were aggravated: false facts were advanced against him, and falser conclusions drawn from them; whilst the late Prince of Wales gave too much countenance to the most malignant and groundless accusations, by shewing favor to every man who aspersed his brother's character.

Mr. Fox. Fox had also his share of calumny, being represented as a man of arbitrary principles, educated in the school of corruption; a proper minister to overturn the constitution, and introduce a military government.

1754.

Duke of Cumberland and Mr. Fox.

As I had opportunities of knowing them both, I will risk my opinion concerning them, endeavouring, as far as I am able, to avoid partiality.

The Duke.

His Royal Highness's judgement would be equal to his parts were it not too much guided by his passions, which are often violent and ungovernable. He has abilities to perform things which are difficult, but sometimes loves an impossibility. In his military capacity, he appears greatly superior to any man in this country; and I have frequently wished that he had confined himself to that department, without entering into party disputes, or interfering in the affairs of civil government; the first of which is below his dignity, and for the latter he is not qualified.

His notions of honor and generosity are worthy of a prince. That he is ambitious is not to be doubted; and had his Majesty died during the present Prince of Wales's minority, he would have most reasonably expected to have been the young king's general: or if he could have formed a party in parliament strong enough to have repealed the Act of Regency, the Princess of Wales's authority

1754.

The Duke. might have suffered great diminution. But that he had even the most distant design of a more criminal nature, that he meant any thing hurtful to his nephew, or dangerous to the public, the insinuation was base and villanous.

Mr. Fox. As to Fox, few men have been more unpopular; yet when I have asked his bitterest enemies what crimes they could alledge against him, they always confined themselves to general accusation; that he was avaricious, encouraged jobs, had profligate friends, and dangerous connections; but never could produce a particular fact of any weight or consequence.

His warmth or impetuosity of temper led him into two very capital mistakes; he wantonly offended the Chancellor by personal reflections or ridicule in the affair of the Marriage Act: he also increased the number of his enemies by discovering an eagerness to be the minister, whilst Mr. Pelham was still alive: many of whose friends might possibly have attached themselves to him, if, instead of snatching at the succession, he had coolly waited till it had been delivered into his hands.

1754.

Mr. Fox.

He has great parliamentary knowledge, but is rather an able debater than a complete orator; his best speeches are neither long nor premeditated; quick and concise replication is his peculiar excellence.

In business he is clear and communicative; frank and agreeable in society; and though he can pay his court on particular occasions, he has too much pride to flatter an enemy, or even a friend, where it is not necessary.

Upon the whole, he has some faults, but more good qualities; is a man of sense and judgement, notwithstanding some indiscretion; and with small allowances for ambition, party, and politics, is a warm friend, a man of veracity, and a man of honour.

Mr. Pitt's party.

Mr. Pitt's followers were scarce a sufficient number to deserve the name of party, consisting only of the Greenvilles and Sir George Lyttleton. The latter was an enthusiast both in religion and politics; absent in business, not ready in a debate, and totally ignorant of the world: on the other hand,

Sir George Lyttleton.

1754.

Sir George Lyttleton.

his studied orations were excellent; he was a man of parts, a scholar, no indifferent writer, and by far the honestest man of the whole society.

Duke of Devonshire.

The late Duke of Devonshire had great credit with the Whigs, being a man of strict honor, true courage, and unaffected affability. He was sincere, humane, and generous; plain in his manners, negligent in his dress; had sense, learning, and modesty, with solid rather than showy parts; and was of a family which had eminently distinguished itself in the cause of liberty.

Many would have followed him, had he given proper encouragement; particularly those who professed the purest Whigism, and were neither quite satisfied with our ministers, nor quite determined to oppose them. But he did not affect to be a party leader; besides, he had an esteem and friendship for Mr. Pelham, though he had not the most favorable opinion of the Duke of Newcastle.

The Opposition.

The Opposition, which, under the protection of the heir apparent, had been growing strong and formidable, after his Royal Highness's decease

1754.

became languid and inanimate. A few unbeneficed patriots voted against the court; but their principle of dissatisfaction being thoroughly understood, those who had parts or activity to be dangerous, or even troublesome enemies, were soon quieted. As to the Jacobites or Tories, their numbers in parliament were not considerable; they had lost their ablest leaders, and had neither spirit to make themselves feared, nor abilities to give any disturbance.

The Opposition.

Jacobites.

This was the state of parties at the time of Mr. Pelham's death, from whence it is evident that the administration, king, and royal family, might be exposed to real danger, from private animosity and disunion amongst themselves; but had little to apprehend either from declared or secret enemies.

Major-General Braddock.

In October, 1754, Major-General Braddock was sent to North America, to oppose the hostilities of the French.

The force he commanded was nowise adequate to any great plan of operation, and might have gone imperceptibly without giving the least alarm. But the whole was conducted with all the pride and solemnity of a formidable armament, by which in-

1754. judicious ostentation an European as well as an

Major-General Braddock. American war became inevitable.

Early in the spring following, we received certain intelligence that the French were fitting out a very powerful fleet, which was to convoy a considerable body of land forces to their colonies in North America.

1755. On our part, we were no less diligent in making such necessary preparations as might enable us to set them at defiance; which being accomplished, on a sudden our conduct changes: in autumn we had displayed our intrepidity, whilst our force was quite contemptible; now we are become formidable we grow circumspect, and fearful of giving the slightest offence. *France has only attacked us in North America: what will be the conduct of our allies? Will not Spain be dissatisfied, should Boscawen block up Brest, or attack them in the channel? In the American seas he may be left at liberty to fight: it is possible indeed he may not meet them; but for this we are not responsible.*

Such was the reasoning of the British ministers. The French sailed unmolested; two of their men of

war were afterwards taken by Boscawen, when they had almost reached their port; the rest escaped in a fog, and got safe to Louisbourg and Quebec. 1755.

At the time Boscawen sailed from England, the king set out for his German dominions, leaving his Royal Highness the duke one of the Lords Justices, which caused great uneasiness at Leicester House.

Princess of Wales.

The Princess of Wales was reputed a woman of excellent sense, by those who knew her very imperfectly; but, in fact, was one of those moderate geniuses, who with much natural dissimulation, a civil address, an assenting conversation, and few ideas of their own, can act with tolerable propriety, as long as they are conducted by wise and prudent counsellors.

Mr. Cresset.

Her secretary, Cresset, had been hitherto her principal adviser: a cautious man, uncommonly skilful in the politics of the backstairs, trusted by Lady Yarmouth, Munchausen, and all the German faction; giving hints and intelligence both at St. James's and at Leicester House.

Yet it must be acknowledged that he acted no

1755.

Mr. Cresset.

dishonest part, that every article of his information was perfectly innocent, and that the good understanding between the king and his daughter-in-law had been chiefly owing to his good offices.

The Princess of Wales retained all the jealousy which divided the royal family during the life of the prince her husband; dreading the power of the duke, and hating him as much as she feared him.

Duke of Cumberland.

His Royal Highness was nominally only one of the regency; but she considered him as being in effect sole regent during the king's absence. She considered also that his great abilities, with the command of the army in a war which seemed inevitable, must give such additional strength as might be fatal to her principal object of governing in the name of her son, in case of a minority.

Her resentment fell chiefly on the Duke of Newcastle, not on this account only, but for having admitted Fox to the cabinet council, which made him also one of the Lords Justices.

It certainly was in the Duke of Newcastle's power to have prevented both; and he was, if pos-

sible, more jealous of the duke and Fox than the princess herself; but his fears prevailed over his jealousy. 1755. Duke of Cumberland

That these events may be better understood, I shall enter into a more minute explanation of the causes which produced them.

First, in relation to Fox: during the preceding winter, he had joined Pitt in a kind of parliamentary opposition.* They were both in place, the one Paymaster, the other Secretary at War; and therefore could not decently obstruct the public business, or censure those measures which they themselves had already approved of. But still they might attack persons, though not things; or might oppose in questions of an indifferent nature, where the affairs of government did not appear to be immediately concerned. Mr. Fox.

Pitt undertook the difficult task of silencing Murray, the Attorney-general, the ablest man, as well as the ablest debater, in the House of Commons: whilst Fox entertained himself with the less dangerous amusement of exposing Sir Thomas Robinson, or rather assisted him, whilst he turned himself into Mr. Pitt.

* Vide Appendix.

1755.

Mr. Pitt.

ridicule. For Sir Thomas, though a good Secretary of State, as far as the business of his office and that which related to foreign affairs, was ignorant even of the language of an House of Commons controversy; and when he played the orator, which he too frequently attempted, it was so exceeding ridiculous, that those who loved and esteemed him could not always preserve a friendly composure of countenance.

Mr. Murray and Sir Thomas Robinson.

Murray and Sir Thomas Robinson were at that time the only leading members in the House of Commons in whom the Duke of Newcastle had a thorough confidence; but the one wanted abilities, the other wanted spirit: and though the administration had in every division a very great majority, many of their steadiest voters were laughers at least, if not encouragers, on the other side of the question.

It therefore became necessary that Pitt and Fox should be disunited: one of them must be treated with; and Fox was first applied to, as being thought more practicable, less disagreeable to the king, and more a man of business.

As Fox was apt to be warm, and the Duke of Newcastle as apt to be shuffling, it seemed necessary that some neutral person should negotiate between

them; and his Majesty thought proper to employ me on this occasion, because I belonged to neither of them, but was a well-wisher to both. 1755.

That the progress of this amicable treaty might not be interrupted by a fresh quarrel, I persuaded them to defer their meeting, till they had settled preliminaries, and clearly understood each other's meaning.

Fox very readily gave me his demands in writing, which I reported to the king, and entered into a more minute explanation with the Duke of Newcastle, who made some objections, and proposed some alterations; but consented to most of the material articles. Mr. Fox.

There would have been many more difficulties, if I had not began by terrifying his grace with a melancholy representation of the fatal consequences of Fox's uniting with Pitt in open opposition.

How he would be exposed to all the virulence of abusive oratory; how his leaders in the House of Commons would be treated with contempt; and how his numerous parliamentary forces, having learnt to despise their generals, would soon become mu-

1755.

Mr. Fox and Duke of Newcastle.

tinous and ungovernable. On the other hand, I assured Fox, that the king had, if possible, still less inclination to make him a minister than the Duke of Newcastle himself. I therefore advised him as a friend, to rest satisfied with a moderate share of power, and to wait for a more favourable opportunity; unless he had absolutely determined to join Pitt, enter into all the violence of opposition, set the nation in a flame, and take the closet by storm.

All material difficulties being at last removed, I proposed an interview, which produced the following agreement:—that Fox should be called up to the cabinet council: that employments should be given to some of his friends, who were not yet provided for; and that others, who had places already, should be removed to higher stations.

Fox, during the whole negotiation, behaved like a man of sense, and a man of honour; very frank, very explicit, and not very unreasonable: but the Duke of Newcastle lost all the merit of every concession, by conferring his favours with a bad grace; and it was easy to foresee that this peace and amity would be of short duration.

As to the other affair, the duke's being one of the regency, it was as follows. 1755.

Duke of Cumberland.

The king having taken the resolution of going to Hanover at the eve of a war, many considerable persons, particularly the late Duke of Devonshire, declared to the Duke of Newcastle, that his Royal Highness being the only general capable of commanding our forces in case of an invasion, it was necessary he should have some share in framing of orders, as well as in executing them. That they would not insist on making him sole regent, which might give umbrage at Leicester House; but that proper precautions must be taken, and that it was necessary for the public safety, that during the king's absence his Royal Highness should be one of the Lords Justices.

Duke of Newcastle.

The Duke of Newcastle, though tenacious of power and full of jealousy in quiet times, had not courage to stand single at the helm in the approaching storm. He therefore agreed to the measure, and recommended it to the king, who most readily gave his consent, as he would have done to any proposal whatsoever, provided it made

1755. us quiet in England, and prolonged his stay at Hanover. But though he was suffered to depart without much murmuring, our domestic tranquillity was of short duration: new factions arose, which possibly might never have existed, could his Majesty have been dissuaded from this unfortunate journey.

Princess of Wales.

The Princess of Wales, during the life of the prince her husband, had distinguished herself by a most decent and prudent behaviour; and the king, notwithstanding his aversion to his son, behaved to her not only with great politeness, but with the appearance of cordiality and affection.

When the prince died, his Majesty gave still stronger proofs of his favor and confidence. He patronised the act by which she was appointed regent, in case of a minority: and, what was of greater importance, he suffered the heir apparent to remain under her sole direction.

For though preceptors and governors were chose by the king, or rather by his ministers, they had only the shadow of authority; and the two principal, the Earl Harcourt, and the Bishop of Norwich, were soon disgraced, because they attempted to form an

1755.

The King and Princess of Wales.

interest independent of the mother, and presumed, on some occasions, to have an opinion of their own. In the mean time, the princess's behaviour to the king was wise and dutiful: she considered him as her protector, benefactor, and friend; and took no step of any consequence without his approbation.

In a word, his Majesty's tenderness for the princess and her family, and the princess's duty and obedience to the king, were equally applauded by the whole nation; and this harmony continued without the least interruption, till his Majesty's departure for his German dominions.

Here on a sudden the scene changes; the Duke of Newcastle, who had hitherto been her Royal Highness's favorite minister, and who had shewn himself on many occasions a very useful friend, is now to be treated with the coldest civility; whilst Pitt, who had been a groom of the bedchamber to the prince her husband, and had not quitted his master in the most decent manner, makes a tender of his services, with the assistance of his relations and friends, which are joyfully accepted.

Earl of Bute.

This treaty was negotiated by the Earl of Bute, at that time a favorite of little fame; but who has

1755.

Earl of Bute.

since merited a very uncommon reputation, and who is supposed to execute a most honorable office with great ability.

He had been a lord of the bedchamber to the late prince; has a good person, fine legs, and a theatrical air of the greatest importance.

There is an extraordinary appearance of wisdom, both in his look and manner of speaking; for whether the subject be serious or trifling, he is equally pompous, slow, and sententious.

Not contented with being wise, he would be thought a polite scholar, and a man of great erudition: but has the misfortune never to succeed, except with those who are exceeding ignorant: for his historical knowledge is chiefly taken from tragedies, wherein he is very deeply read; and his classical learning extends no farther than a French translation.

The late Prince of Wales, who was not overnice in the choice of ministers, used frequently to say that Bute was a fine showy man, who would make an excellent ambassador in a court where there was no business. Such was his Royal Highness's opinion of the noble earl's political abilities; but the sagacity

1755.

of the princess dowager has discovered other accomplishments, of which the prince her husband may not perhaps have been the most competent judge.

Earl of Bute.

Mr. Pitt connects himself with Leicester House.

The substance of the treaty was, that Pitt and his friends should, to their utmost, support the princess and her son; that they should oppose the duke, and raise a clamor against him; and as to the king, they were to submit to his government, provided he would govern as they directed him.

An event happened about the middle of the summer, which engaged Leicester House still deeper in faction than they at first intended.

Projects of marriage for Prince of Wales.

The Prince of Wales was just entering into his eighteenth year; and being of a modest, sober disposition, with a healthy, vigorous constitution, it might reasonably be supposed that a matrimonial companion would be no unacceptable amusement.

Princess of Brunswick Wolfenbuttel.

The Dutchess of Brunswick Wolfenbuttel *, with her two unmarried daughters, waited on his Majesty

* Philippina Charlotte, Princess of Prussia, sister of Frederick the Second, and wife of Charles, Duke of Brunswick Wolfenbuttel, was born in 1716, and died in 1780. Her two eldest daughters were Sophia Caroline Maria, born in 1737; and Anne Amelia, born 1739. Sophia Caroline Maria was married in 1759 to the Margravine of Bareuth; and died at an advanced age, in 1817 or 1818. And Anne Amelia was married to the Duke of Saxe Weimar, in 1756; and died in 1807.

1755.

Princess of Brunswick Wolfenbuttel.

at Hanover. The elder, both as to person and understanding, was a most accomplished princess.

The king was charmed with her cheerful, modest, and sensible behaviour; and wished to make her his grandaughter, being too old to make her his wife. I remember his telling me with great eagerness, that had he been only twenty years younger, she should never have been refused by a Prince of Wales, but should at once have been queen of England.

Now whether his Majesty spoke seriously is very little to the purpose: his grandson's happiness was undoubtedly his principal object; and he was desirous the match might be concluded before his own death; that the Princess of Wales should have no temptation to do a job for her relations, by marrying her son to one of the Saxe Gotha family, who might not have the amiable accomplishments of the Princess of Wolfenbuttel.

The king's intentions could not be long a secret in England, and it may easily be imagined that they were not agreeable to the Princess of Wales.

She knew the temper of the prince her son; that he was by nature indolent, hated business, but loved a domestic life, and would make an excellent husband.

1755.

She knew also that the young princess, having merit and understanding equal to her beauty, must in a short time have the greatest influence over him.

In which circumstances, it may naturally be concluded that her Royal Highness did every thing in her power to prevent the match. The Prince of Wales was taught to believe that he was to be made a sacrifice, merely to gratify the king's private interest in the electorate of Hanover. The young princess was most cruelly misrepresented; many even of her perfections were aggravated into faults; his Royal Highness implicitly believing every idle tale and improbable aspersion, till his prejudice against her amounted to aversion itself.

From this time, all duty and obedience to the grandfather entirely ceased: for though it would have been difficult to have persuaded him to have done that which he thought wrong, he was ready to think right whatever was prompted either by the mother or by her favorite.

Foreign treaties.

Negotiations also of a different nature were carried on in the course of this summer. Two treaties

1755.

Treaty with Russia never executed.

were signed, the one with the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, the other with the Czarina. The force we should have acquired by the latter would have been considerable, and the terms were reasonable; but this treaty was never carried into execution. However, though the Russians did not fulfil their engagements, they behaved with more generosity than is usual on the like occasions; for as they would not earn our money, they refused to take it.

Expiration of treaties with Saxony and Bavaria.

Our treaties with Saxony and Bavaria expired about the same time, and might both have been renewed: the former amounted to thirty-two thousand, the latter to twenty thousand pounds a year.

The consequences of such a renewal cannot now be ascertained; but if the mischiefs which have arisen from the junction of Saxony with France and the court of Vienna could have been prevented for thirty-two thousand pounds, it had undoubtedly been a cheap purchase.

Be that as it will, it either was extravagant to make these treaties, or absurd to let them expire: for we paid troops when they were of no use, in years

of peace and tranquillity; and afterwards discharged them, or in effect assigned them over to the enemy at the eve of a war. 1755.

Neither will our policy be more excusable, though the original design of these treaties might have been to facilitate the election of a king of the Romans: a measure which never took place, which the Austrians themselves thought of little consequence, and wherein the interest of Great Britain could be nowise concerned.

Austria.

The court of Vienna was also treated with: they were ready to declare war against France, provided we were ready on our part to furnish all the expences; provided also that we would quarrel with the King of Prussia, to give them an opportunity to recover Silesia; in which case, it was not difficult to foresee against which of the adverse powers the Austrian force would have been chiefly directed.

But we had been so often the dupes of the house of Austria, and their cause was become so very unpopular, that our ministers durst not engage on these disadvantageous terms.

Our plan therefore, if we had any, was reduced

1755. to a narrower compass: to secure his Majesty's electoral dominions, by preserving the tranquillity of Germany: to support our colonies in North America: to carry on a sea war against France: and, as to affairs in general, we were to wait for events, and trust to chance and accident.

Plans for strengthening the ministry.

In the mean time, the Duke of Newcastle and Lord Hardwick foreseeing the confusion which was likely to arise from the state of our affairs at home, as well as abroad, obtained his Majesty's leave to strengthen themselves in their ministerial capacity, by forming new alliances.

Pitt was now the first person to be treated with: he still continued paymaster, but seemed much dissatisfied; had been in a kind of opposition the preceding winter; and had just entered into engagements with Leicester House.

Terms being proposed, Pitt was very explicit; and fairly let them know that he expected to be secretary of state, and would not content himself with any meaner employment.

Neither was it his intention to be a secretary merely to write letters according to order, or to talk

in parliament like a lawyer from a brief; but to be really a minister. He also declared against continental measures, and against all treaties of subsidy; but as this declaration was reserved to the last, it seems possible it might have been totally forgot, if the answer to the preceding articles had been satisfactory. 1755.

For a short time, it was expected that some agreement would have been made; but Pitt adhered to his first demands; and the Duke of Newcastle was not sufficiently intimidated to make any man a minister who had frankly told him he would not be directed.

Negotiations with Mr. Pitt dropped.

On this occasion his grace had recourse to the never-failing excuse, that for his own part, he had the greatest honor and esteem for Mr. Pitt, and wished to satisfy him in every particular; but that the king would never give his consent; and so this treaty ended.

Lords Justices.

The Lords Justices, I mean the leaders only, who in their private meetings determined all affairs of consequence, were the duke, the chancellor, Lord

1755. Granville, the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Anson, Sir Thomas Robinson, and Mr. Fox.

Ministry.

The preparations for war and all military operations were chiefly conducted by the duke, Fox, and Lord Anson.

The Duke of Newcastle and the chancellor, followed by Sir Thomas Robinson, took the lead in our domestic politics, and in all affairs of civil government.

As to Lord Granville, he sometimes sided with the duke, sometimes with the Duke of Newcastle, and frequently differed from both.

Instructions to Sir Edward Hawke.

An affair came under their consideration of the greatest importance. A very powerful fleet was ready to sail under the command of Sir Edward Hawke; and the king trusted to his regency to prepare proper instructions. *Was Hawke to have hostile orders? If hostile orders were given, must they be unlimited? Ought war to be declared when the fleet sailed? Or were we to commence hostilities without any declaration?*

These were serious questions, and as they were

to be determined by men of very different tempers, 1755.
it is not surprising there should be some difference of opinion.

The duke, naturally inclined to vigorous measures, seeing the nation impatient for war, it being also the general opinion that the enemy was yet unprepared, thought it advisable to strike the blow whilst our fury was at the greatest height: at the same time, he was very sensible that notwithstanding our formidable fleet, we were not ourselves in such perfect readiness as many people imagined.

On the other hand, the Duke of Newcastle, who was not fond of danger at a distance, and seldom grew bolder on its nearer approach, was for keeping off the storm as long as possible, and gave his opinion that Hawke should take a turn in the channel to exercise the fleet, without having any instructions whatsoever.

The chancellor had more courage than the Duke of Newcastle; but agreeable to the common practice of the law, was against bringing the cause to an immediate decision.

1755. Lord Anson, as usual, said little; but as an admiral, and first lord of the admiralty, thought it became him to seem rather inclined to the spirited side of the question.

After mature deliberation, it was resolved, *that Hawke should sail with hostile orders, but war was not to be declared.* Either extreme had been better than this compromise; for it was in our power to have remained quiet till we had been thoroughly prepared for action: or if we were inclined to more vigorous measures, Hawke's departure might have been deferred a few days, the king might have been intreated to return to England, and war might have been immediately proclaimed on his Majesty's arrival.

In which case, even our enemies must have allowed that we had acted fairly and like men of spirit, who would not bear ill usage.

Whereas, on the contrary, without the least previous notice, we at once commence hostilities; Hawke, in pursuance of orders, seizes every trading vessel which has the misfortune to meet him; whereby a foundation is laid for much dispute and

caviling, perhaps also for a considerable retribution, if the war should prove unprosperous; and in the mean time we are called robbers and pirates. 1755.

Such was the situation of our affairs when his Majesty returned in September, 1755.

I never heard, with any certainty, whether the king, when he left Hanover, was acquainted with the intrigues of Leicester House: but I know from the best authority, that before he had been a week in England, he had received thorough information.

Opposition in parliament.

The plan of opposition in parliament was confined within a narrow compass: the Hessian and Russian subsidies afforded only a small supply of new matter; and the old topics of declamation, like jests too frequently repeated, had lost their force and poignancy.

But that which animated the cause, and gave spirit and vigor to our most worthy patriots, was the pleasing prospect of an unfortunate war.

The Prince and Princess of Wales were not openly to declare themselves, unless the king's obstinacy in the affair of the marriage should lay

1755. them under the immediate necessity of pulling off the mask.

But they were to shew strong symptoms, by taking that kind of notice of the king's principal servants which at court is called *rumping;* whilst Pitt and his relations were most graciously received, and whilst the Earl of Bute was distinguished by the most particular marks of favor and confidence; a notification to all men who sought for future preferment, that without his lordship's mediation there was no political salvation.

The king, who had early intelligence of every thing they did, and of most things they intended, treated the princess with the same coldness with which she and her son treated his ministers.

Conference between king and prince.

About three months after his return to England, his Majesty sent for the Prince of Wales into his closet; not to propose the match, knowing it would be to little purpose, but to find out the extent of his political knowledge, to sift him in relation to Hanover, and to caution him against evil counsellors. The discourse was short, the substance kind and affectionate; but the manner not quite gracious.

The prince was flustered and sulky; bowed, but scarce made any answer: so the conference ended very little to the satisfaction of either party. Here his Majesty was guilty of a very capital mistake: instead of sending for the prince, he should have spoke firmly to the mother: told her that as she governed her son, she should be answerable for his conduct: that he would overlook what was past, and treat her still like a friend, if she behaved in a proper manner; but, on the other hand, if either herself, her son, or any person influenced by them, should give any future disturbance, she must expect no quarter: he might then have ended his admonition, by whispering a word in her ear, which would have made her tremble, in spite of her spotless innocence. 1755.

The ill success of the Duke of Newcastle's negotiation with Pitt has been already mentioned. Fox, in his turn, must again be treated with; for the session of parliament approached, and it was become a general maxim, that the House of Commons had been so much accustomed to have a minister of their

Duke of Newcastle negotiates with Fox.

1755. own, they would not any longer be governed by deputy.

Fox insisted on being made Secretary of State, much against the king's inclination, as well as the Duke of Newcastle's: for though his Majesty preferred Fox to Pitt, he liked Sir Thomas Robinson better than either of them; for Sir Thomas was diligent in his office, did as he was directed, understood foreign affairs, and pretended to nothing further.

Mr. Fox Secretary of State.

However, Fox carried his point; Lord Barrington succeeded him as Secretary at War, and Sir Thomas Robinson went back to his old place at the wardrobe, with a considerable pension on the Irish establishment.

Majority in parliament.

At the opening of the session, the court had a great majority: the ill humor of Leicester House, if it had any effect, doing rather good than harm. This may at first appear extraordinary; but the wonder ceases when we examine the conduct of the Princess of Wales, who had not acquired that freedom and openness of behaviour which gains the

profligate; whilst the sober and conscientious part of the world doubted whether it was strictly right that a boy of seventeen should be taught to set his grandfather at defiance: nor were they much edified with other rumors of a less serious nature, which were now universally credited. 1755.

Debates.

But the court did not prevail by numbers only; in all debates of consequence, Murray, the Attorney-general, had greatly the advantage over Pitt in point of argument; and, abuse only excepted, was not much his inferior in any part of oratory.

Treaty with Prussia.

During the course of this winter, a treaty was signed with the King of Prussia, to prevent the introduction of foreign troops into the empire.

The intention of this treaty was to stop the Russians, that they might not attack the King of Prussia, under the name of assistance to the house of Austria; and, on the other hand, that the French might not overrun his Majesty's electoral dominions, under pretence of defending their ally the King of Prussia.

This measure, though chiefly calculated for German purposes, was generally approved of;. for it

1755. seemed equitable as well as humane, that Hanover should not be exposed to the resentment of our enemies, in a quarrel entirely English.

Yet the consequences were fatal, though the design was honest: for when the court of Vienna perceived that there was no farther expectation of English assistance to recover Silesia, they immediately treat with the common enemy; the unnatural conjunction is formed between France and Austria; the Czarina engages to assist them with all her force; and the Elector of Saxony, whose territories lay most exposed, and who was least able to defend himself, most imprudently confederates with these great potentates.

Confederacy against Prussia.

The King of Prussia foreseeing the storm which was gathering over him, with unparalleled activity, courage, and sagacity, strikes the first blow, whilst the enemy is yet unprepared. Thus a war is kindled in Germany, which has hitherto been carried on with unusual ferocity; which may prove more bloody and destructive than any which we meet with in modern history, and which hereafter may reduce England to the cruel alternative of pursuing a continental war

War in Germany.

at an immense expence, which, in the end, must prove unfortunate; or of abandoning our only ally, the greatest prince and most fortunate general of the present age, in contempt of national faith, and of the most solemn engagements. 1755.

But to return to our affairs at home: towards the end of the year 1755, and at the beginning of the year 1756, we were frequently alarmed with intended invasions, numbers of troops swarming on the coast, flat-bottom boats, embarcations, and the like. We also heard that a considerable armament was fitting out at Toulon; but this danger, being at a greater distance, did not at first give any great uneasiness. However, it soon became the general opinion, that the reports from Toulon were too well founded, and that the island of Minorca could not possibly be saved, without the most immediate as well as the most vigorous assistance. Alarm of invasion. Minorca.

Our ministers alone seemed still incredulous; pretending this to be nothing more than a feint, to facilitate a descent upon England or Ireland, whilst our fleet was employed in blocking up ten or twelve

1755. old ships, the rotten part of the French marine, in the harbour of Toulon.

Situation of England. Undoubtedly our situation was somewhat delicate, there being a wide difference between our real and nominal strength, between our effective men, and the numbers voted by parliament. For though Lord Anson had done every thing in his power, that our fleet might be in the best condition, Boscawen had returned from North America much later than had been expected; had lost a great number by sickness, and his ships were not yet refitted.

Fleet.

Sailors were wanting even for the western squadron, though this part of our marine had always been the most compleatly manned, and the best appointed.

Army. As to the land service, we first engaged in a war, and then began to prepare ourselves; consequently our internal force must be very deficient.

This might have been foreseen, and prevented without any extraordinary sagacity; for it certainly was in our power to have deferred the war, till the nation had been in a better state of defence: but the die being unfortunately thrown before we were

sensible of the danger, and the evil requiring an immediate remedy, both houses of parliament addressed the king, that the Hanoverians and Hessians might be brought over to our assistance. 1755. House's address for assistance from Hanover and Hesse.

His Majesty granted their request without the least hesitation; yet fitting out transports, and other necessary preparations, must occasion some delay, and in the mean time, security at home was our principal object. Unfortunately, our ministers, blinded by their fears, confined their attention to this object only. However, at last they were roused from their lethargy, and Bing sailed to the Mediterranean: but the French were already landed; St. Philip's was already besieged. Even could our fleet have arrived a month sooner, common sense might have informed us that we ought either to have employed a more considerable force, or an admiral of more experienced bravery. Bing sails.

The engagement of the 20th of May, with the surrender of Fort St. Philip, are but too well known, and will be long remembered, equally to the disgrace of the arms and councils of this country. 1756. Engagement of 20th May.

This loss was the principal cause of that popular

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discontent and clamor which overturned the administration; or rather occasioned the panick, which obliged our ministers to abdicate.

Parliament prorogued early.

The session had been brought to a conclusion as early as possible, lest the account should arrive of the taking of Fort St. Philip, whilst the parliament was still sitting; in which case, there would have been a motion in the House of Commons for an immediate inquiry, which could not have been opposed with any decency: and though a steady majority would have protected our ministers against impeachments, or any parliamentary censure, it could have been no security against that torrent of abuse which might reasonably be expected from our enraged patriots; for Pitt and his party were become quite desperate, having been all dismissed from their employments at the beginning of the winter, except Sir George Lyttleton, who did not resign when his friends were turned out, chusing rather to be made Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the room of Mr. Legge; which was resented with the greatest acrimony by the whole cousinhood.

Another event happened about the same time,

which, though of a private nature, was a dangerous blow to the whole administration, particularly to the Duke of Newcastle. 1756.

Sir D. Rider dies.

The Chief Justice of the King's Bench, Sir Dudley Rider, died very unexpectedly. He was an honest man, and a good lawyer, but not considerable in any other capacity.

Murray

Murray, the Attorney-general, was so greatly superior to the rest of the profession, that he stood without a rival; and his merit and abilities must have insured his promotion, had he been known only in Westminster Hall, and at the bar of the House of Lords.

Aims at Chief Justiceship and peerage.

The immediate loss of the ablest debater in the House of Commons, at a time when he was so much wanted, was indeed a strong obstacle: but the place of Chief Justice, with a peerage, having been the point he had long aimed at, having declined all preferment, foreign to his profession, and having a great independent fortune, without any children, it seemed difficult to find an equivalent in any other shape.

1756. However, though no single weight would turn the ballance, they endeavoured to overload the scale with a profusion of favors of less specific gravity: a very honorable employment, with an ample salary for his own life; a considerable reversion for his family; and a peerage in futurity.

Great offers made him.

Refuses.

But he wisely refused them, knowing that the acceptance of such bribes, instead of raising him above envy, would lower his reputation, and create new enemies.

At last, after various proposals on one part, and as many refusals on the other, Murray was obliged to tell them, in plain terms, that if they did not think proper to make him Lord Chief Justice, he would no longer continue Attorney-general; and, as to the business of the House of Commons, he should leave them to fight their own battles.

Appointed Chief Justice.

This declaration had an immediate effect, and he took his seat in the House of Lords the winter following; whereby the Duke of Newcastle was deprived of his only friend and advocate in the House of Commons, on whose abilities he could

thoroughly depend; and undoubtedly had great reason to be sorry, though he had no reason to complain. 1756.

Popular ferment.

The summer of 1756 was the triumph of faction and of party violence. Remonstrances were presented to the king, under the name of dutiful and loyal addresses, not inferior to those of the year 41, in the last century. Whilst the freedom of cities and corporations were presented to Pitt and Legge in gold boxes, accompanied with letters of thanks, not for any services performed, but for those which they were supposed to have intended, had they been allowed a proper opportunity.

Real grievances.

On the other hand, it must be acknowledged that the nation had sufficient reason to complain, though the manner of expressing their dissatisfaction was not to be justified: many millions having been raised, our debt considerably increased, Minorca lost, and the war in North America nowise prosperous.

But what inflamed the multitude, and shook the very foundation of government, were those treasonable falsehoods pointed at the throne itself.

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Calumnies against the king.

His Majesty's very natural affection for his German electorate was brought as an undoubted proof of his settled aversion to his British subjects. All those calumnies were revived, which had been formerly very successfully employed by some of the same persons when Lord Granville was minister, and had raised that national discontent, which had been the forerunner of the last rebellion.

Object of them.

Not that rebellion was the point they then aimed at, nor did they mean it on the present occasion; they only desired to create as much confusion as might be necessary to bring themselves into power; which being obtained, they were ready to talk a different language, to say that the object was changed, and to pursue the same political system which had ruined the former administration.

Leicester House.

In the mean time, these factious proceedings were not in the least discouraged at Leicester House: on the contrary, those who by the severest insinuations, or by ironical panegyrick, had thrown the most indecent reflections on majesty itself, were caressed in the most public manner, and honoured with all the nonsense of gracious smiles, mysterious nods, and

endless whispers in every corner of the drawing-room. 1756.

Earl of Bute.

The Princess of Wales's unlimited confidence in the Earl of Bute has been already mentioned; and by the good offices of the mother, he also became the avowed favorite of the young prince, who was just entering into his nineteenth year, the time of his majority, in case the king had been dead; and as very considerable changes were soon to be made in his Royal Highness's family, the great point they aimed at was to place the Earl of Bute at the head of the new establishment.

Lord Waldegrave's opinion and conduct.

I had been appointed governor to the Prince of Wales towards the end of the year 1752, when Earl Harcourt resigned; and as my predecessor did not quit on the most amicable terms, I was very kindly received.

I found his Royal Highness uncommonly full of princely prejudices, contracted in the nursery, and improved by the society of bed-chamber women, and pages of the back-stairs.

As a right system of education seemed quite impracticable, the best which could be hoped for was

1756. to give him true notions of common things; to instruct him by conversation, rather than by books; and sometimes, under the disguise of amusement, to entice him to the pursuit of more serious studies.

The next point I laboured was to preserve harmony and union in the royal family; and having free access to the closet, I had frequent opportunities of doing good offices; was a very useful apologist, whenever his Majesty was displeased with his grandson's shyness, or want of attention; and never failed to notify even the most minute circumstance of the young prince's behaviour which was likely to give satisfaction.

On the other hand, the princess and her son seemed fully satisfied with my zeal, diligence, and faithful services; and I was treated with so much civility, that I thought myself almost a favorite.

Change of conduct at Leicester House.

This continued near three years, till the time already mentioned, when they changed their plan, and began by their actions, without directly avowing it, to set the king at defiance.

The governor's apologies being no longer necessary, the best use they could make of me was to

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provoke me to some hasty, imprudent action, which might oblige me to quit my station, and make way for Bute's advancement.

However, they could not find even the slightest pretence for shewing any public mark of their displeasure; and though some hard things were said to me in private, I always kept my temper, giving the severest answers, in the most respectful language; and letting them civilly understand that I feared their anger no more than I had deserved it; and though it might be in their power to fret me, I was determined not to be in the wrong.

Prince and Princess of Wales apply to Duke of Newcastle.

During these transactions, the Prince and Princess of Wales, forgetting their former resentment, sent messages to the Duke of Newcastle, in the most submissive terms; assuring him that if, by his interest in the closet, Lord Bute could be made Groom of the Stole, they should ever remember it as the greatest obligation; that it was the only point which they had really at heart, and that they were desirous of obtaining so considerable a favor by his means, because they had rather be obliged to him than to any other minister.

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His answer.

The Duke of Newcastle either doubted their sincerity, or was not sufficiently frightened to give a satisfactory answer: besides, he knew that his endeavours to please Leicester House would not be agreeable at St. James's, and did not chuse to incur the displeasure of the king, who, though in his seventy-third year, was strong and in perfect health. Accordingly, he strictly confined himself to general professions of respect, and of his inclination to obey their commands; but avoided an interview, and made no particular promises.

King orders a cabinet council.

However, his Majesty was immediately acquainted with their Royal Highness's request, and as a new establishment, in some shape or other, was to be formed as soon as possible, he ordered a meeting of his principal servants, amongst whom, as the Prince of Wales's governor, I had the honor of being admitted.

It was unusual for the king himself to be present at such consultations; but he had already declared his opinion, by speaking of the princess's favorite, and of her partiality towards him, with the greatest contempt.

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Discussions in council.

The chancellor, with his usual gravity, declared, that for his own part, he had no particular objection to the Earl of Bute's promotion; neither would he give credit to some very extraordinary reports; but that many sober and respectable persons would think it indecent, for which reason he could never advise his Majesty to give his consent.

Lord Granville did not treat the affair quite so seriously; told three or four very good stories, which were nothing to the purpose, and concluded that the king was the only proper judge, in the affairs of his own family.

The Duke of Newcastle gave his opinion that the king would never suffer Bute to be Groom of the Stole; but that something might be done for him in some other shape: that undoubtedly their Royal Highnesses must soon be convinced of the great impropriety of what they now desired; that it was a very nice affair, required the most mature consideration, and therefore he was against any immediate or final determination.

When it was my turn to speak, I told them I was fully convinced that Leicester House would never be

1756. contented, unless their request was granted in its full extent. I was also persuaded, that this request, however unreasonable, would be complyed with, rather than cause an open rupture, by an obstinate refusal. That it was better to do the thing soon, and with a good grace, than hereafter, when it would be thought an act of necessity, and no favor whatsoever. But that I had nothing to say as to the propriety or decency of the measure, whereof I did not think myself a competent judge.

During the whole summer, there were several consultations on the same subject: frequent letters and messages past between Kew and Kensington, but instead of any agreement, the breach was dayly growing wider: when at last, about the beginning of October, the ministers not daring to meet the parliament, whilst Leicester House was dissatisfied, obtained the king's consent that the Prince of Wales should not remove to Kensington, but should still continue with his mother; and that Bute should be Groom of the Stole, at the head of the new establishment.

King consents.

By this means was I delivered from the most

1756. Lord Waldegrave.

painful servitude. Even in the best times, I had found little satisfaction in my most honorable employment: and my spirits and patience were at last so totally exhausted, that I could have quitted his Royal Highness, and have given up all future hopes of court preferment, without the least regret or uneasiness.

But being under the greatest obligations to the king, the many favors I had received having been conferred by him only, without any ministerial assistance; I thought it would be ungrateful as well as impolitic, to abandon my station without his Majesty's consent.

At the same time, the king thought it necessary that the principal director of the new establishment should be a person in whom he could repose a thorough confidence; and was desirous I should continue in the prince's service, not only because he was partial in my favor, but also on account of his dislike to my intended successor.

As often, therefore, as I talked of resigning, his Majesty changed the discourse, and seemed not to

1756. understand me; though, when he thought proper, he

Lord Waldegrave could take a hint as quick as any man.

I next applyed to the Duke of Newcastle, who had not the least conception how my situation could be so very unpleasant as I represented it; measuring, perhaps, my feelings by his own, and thinking that from long attendance at court, with four years' practice in the school of politics, I must have lost all sensibility. As the clearest hints had been to no purpose, I was now reduced to the necessity of speaking plainly and directly to the king himself.

resigns. His Majesty heard all I had to say with the greatest condescension and goodness; owned I had great reason to be dissatisfied, but pressed me in the strongest manner to continue with his grandson some time longer. To which I answered, that if my situation was still more disagreeable, I never would desert my post, whilst there remained a possibility of doing any good, in any shape whatsoever: but with the loss of his Royal Highness's favor and confidence, I had lost the only means of doing any real service, and therefore hoped his Majesty would grant my

dismission, whenever it should be his pleasure to form the new establishment.

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At last, after much persuasion, and many unconvincing arguments, he put the decisive question, *whether I had taken my final resolution;* to which, in the most respectful manner possible, I answered in the affirmative. He then replyed, *I am heartily sorry for it, but cannot say you are in the wrong.*

is promised something permanent.

The next time I had the honor of speaking to his Majesty, he very graciously told me, that as I had incurred the displeasure of Leicester House, on account of my attachment to him, and because I had acted an honest part, he was determined to shew his approbation of my behaviour, by giving me something permanent, which could not be resumed when he should be dead; that he was not resolved, either as to the thing itself, or the manner of doing it; but that he would consult the Duke of Newcastle, and would order him to talk to me more fully on the subject.

Accordingly, in a few days, the Duke of Newcastle, after a pompous preamble of the king's great goodness, his own good offices, and my good fortune,

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came at last to the point, and acquainted me with his Majesty's intention of granting me a pension for my life of two thousand pounds a year, on the Irish establishment.

As I was prepared for a proposal of this sort, I did not hesitate an instant to give my answer, telling him, that I was thoroughly sensible of his Majesty's goodness, from long experience: that I had never doubted his grace's good offices; and, as to my own good fortune, that two thousand pounds a year, added to my paternal estate, was as much as I wanted or wished for. At the same time, it was my determined resolution, never to accept a pension in any shape whatsoever. That I asked for nothing at present, except my liberty; but if it should be his Majesty's pleasure to grant me a reversion, that I might hereafter be one of the Tellers of the Exchequer, it would make me perfectly easy during the remainder of my life; and that I imagined the king himself would prefer this to an Irish pension, as it would cause no clamor, and would be no diminution of his Majesty's revenue. The Duke of Newcastle, who wanted this reversion for one of his favorites, used many argu-

refuses pension.

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ments to prove that the present possession of a pension for life, granted by the crown, as a reward for my services, ought to be esteemed honorable, as well as profitable; but finding me obstinate, he was under the necessity of acquainting the king with what had passed, who had not the worse opinion of me for having refused the pension; and my request was granted without the least difficulty.

is granted a reversion.

I had not acquainted either the Prince or Princess of Wales with this transaction; who strongly suspected, that notwithstanding the ill usage I had received, I might still have some inclination to continue in his Royal Highness's service: and having often perceived that I would not understand the most intelligible hints, they now resolved to explain themselves in the clearest and most precise manner.

Converses with Prince of Wales.

Accordingly, one day after dinner, the Prince of Wales began the conversation by desiring I would take nothing amiss; and then proceeded, with much hesitation and confusion, that he certainly should be exceeding glad to employ me hereafter, but that just at present he had very particular reasons against my continuing in his service; that it would be very im-

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proper for him to give me a negative; hoped I would not lay him under such a difficulty; and that he should esteem it a real obligation, if my resignation could have the appearance of being entirely my own act.

I answered, that far from taking any thing amiss, I returned his Royal Highness my humblest thanks for the very gracious manner in which he had expressed himself. That as to my quitting his service, I had often proposed it to the king, who, though much averse to it, had at last given his consent.

That this had long been my object; for that several months ago, when his Royal Highness had thought proper to tell me that he expected to have the nomination of the person who was to be at the head of the new establishment, it being necessary there should be a man in such a place, whom he could thoroughly confide in; when he had added, that unless he was gratified in this particular, he should consider all those who were placed about him as his enemies; and when it was very apparent that I was not the person in whom his confidence was reposed, I should undoubtedly have resigned my

employment the next morning, if I had not been apprehensive that it might have produced an immediate rupture; for I was determined, if there must be a quarrel between him and his grandfather, which I thought very probable, it should never be placed to my account. That I had persisted in doing all good offices, as long as they were practicable; that when it was no longer in my power to do any real good, I still had endeavoured to do as little harm as possible; and had made use of every opportunity to soften and alleviate whatever had been amiss; but, at the same time, the king having appointed me his Royal Highness's governor, I was accountable to his Majesty, and it was my duty to give information, as to some particulars, when he required it: or supposing it had been my intention to deceive the king, even in that case, it would have been absurd to have denied those things which might be seen at every drawing-room, and were the subject of conversation at every coffee-house.

Those who had persuaded his Royal Highness to speak to me in the manner I have mentioned, had forgot to furnish him with a proper reply: possibly

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they did not expect that I should have presumed to return so uncourtly an answer: he was much embarrassed, said little, and went immediately to his mother, to give an account of what had passed.

confers with Princess of Wales.

In about two days, I was sent for by her Royal Highness, who began by apologising for her son's behaviour: telling me, that I certainly must have misunderstood him on several occasions, or that he had said more than he really intended: that he had a great regard for me, did not like new faces, and was very desirous I should continue in his service: but that he had a very particular esteem for the Earl of Bute, and had set his heart on making him Groom of the Stole: that being Master of the Horse was equally honorable, and if I would accept that employment every thing might be made easy, and the king and her son would both be satisfied.

The prince, who was present, assented to every thing she said, but entered no further into the conversation.

I returned their Royal Highnesses my humblest thanks; assured them that whether I quitted, or whether I remained his Royal Highness's servant, I

should always be desirous of doing every thing which they should approve of, as far as was consistent with the superior duty I owed to the king: and that nothing could give me more real satisfaction, than to see perfect harmony and union in the royal family. 1756. Lord Waldegrave

Many compliments passed between us, without the least insincerity on either side; for we did not mean to deceive each other; but as we were soon to be divided for the rest of our lives, it seemed best to part with the appearance of good humor and civility.

One of the compliments might, indeed, be somewhat equivocal: I told her Royal Highness that I had frequently taken the liberty of speaking to the king concerning Lord Bute's promotion; but had never obtained a serious answer; for that as often as I touched on the subject, he immediately laughed in my face.

After this friendly conference, which was about a month before the new establishment took place, I was treated with the greatest politeness; and when his Majesty granted their request, he made choice of me to be the messenger of good news. conveys king's consent.

As soon as the happy event was notified, his

1756. Royal Highness wrote a letter to the king, full of the strongest professions of duty, respect, and gratitude; wherewith his Majesty was highly satisfied.

It was now the general opinion, that Leicester House would enjoy the fruits of the victory, and cause no future disturbance: the Prince of Wales having given the strongest assurances that Lord Bute's promotion was the only part of the establishment which he had really at heart; and that if he could be gratified in this particular, he should make no further demands.

But his request was most injudiciously complyed with about a week before the new establishment was entirely settled; during which interval the language was entirely changed: they acknowledged that the king had been exceeding gracious, and had treated the prince with the greatest tenderness; but that neither his Royal Highness nor the princess were under the least obligation to any of the ministers.

Leicester House not satisfied.

That an establishment had been formed without consulting them; consisting only of the Duke of Newcastle's followers and dependants: that many of their faces were unknown at Leicester House;

and even amongst those who might have been approved of, had they applyed in a proper manner, very few had condescended to make the least inquiry, whether their services would be agreeable. 1756.

Now though this reasoning was neither quite fair nor quite true, it served as a pretence for their appearing still dissatisfied with the Duke of Newcastle; who had gratified them in most of their recommendations, though he had not consulted them in every particular: and moreover had prevailed with the king to grant their principal request, a very important service, which ought to have been longer remembered.

I received his Majesty's commands to send letters of notification to his Royal Highness's new servants: and when the long expected day arrived, I introduced them first at Kensington, and then returned to Savile House, where I presented them to the Prince of Wales.

King slights Lord Bute.

The king could not be persuaded to look kindly on the Groom of the Stole: neither would he admit him into the closet, to receive the badge of his office; but gave it the Duke of Grafton, who slipt the gold

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key into Bute's pocket, wished it could have been given in a more proper manner, but prudently advised him to take no notice.

Lord Waldegrave takes leave of Prince of Wales.

When the whole ceremony was ended, I went to take leave of his Royal Highness, who was uncommonly gracious; assuring me that he was thoroughly satisfied with every part of my behaviour, and that if others had acted in the same manner, he should have had no reason to complain. After these compliments, we had a very cheerful conversation; which being ended, I made my bow, and parted from him with as much indifference as was consistent with respect and decency.

State of ministry.

Whilst these affairs were in agitation, a very unexpected event gave a violent shock to the tottering administration.

I have already taken notice of Fox's having been made Secretary of State, at the beginning of the preceding winter. The Duke of Newcastle, by the advice of Murray, Stone, and other friends, had also admitted him to an inferior degree of ministerial partnership: and though there was little probability that such different tempers could admit of real friend-

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ship, there would have been no disagreement of any consequence, if weak and peevish counsellors had not interfered.

Grounds of Fox's discontent.

His grace had a select committee of relations, his principal advisers in affairs of the greatest importance: these excellent politicians had a secret satisfaction in doing ill offices, and lost no opportunity of giving the worst interpretation to every doubtful circumstance of Fox's behaviour: whilst the Duke of Newcastle, to gratify their ill humor, and his own jealousy, treated him rather like an enemy whom he feared than as a minister whom he had chose for his assistant.

But the Secretary received still greater mortification from the treatment he met with in the closet. His Majesty could not readily forget that Sir Thomas Robinson had been removed to make way for Fox's promotion; who (though his political knowledge was not confined to a particular branch) had been less conversant in foreign affairs than in the business of parliament: and his Majesty is supposed to have given some ungracious hints, how a man might be

1756. a talker in the House of Commons, though, in every

Mr. Fox other respect, a very indifferent Secretary.

In a word, Fox thought himself ill-used both by king and minister; he also foresaw that the loss of Minorca must add strength to the opposition, the nation being now on their side: moreover, if any personal attack was made against him, that he should be weakly supported: he therefore thought it prudent to avoid the storm; asked an audience of the king, entered into a short detail of his grievances; and

resigns. obtained his Majesty's permission to resign his employment.

This resignation was nowise pleasing to the Duke of Newcastle, who meant that Fox should have continued in a responsible office; with a double portion of danger and abuse, but without any share of power.

House of Commons. The whole system of the House of Commons was at once entirely changed: Fox no longer a minister, Murray retiring to the House of Peers, Pitt standing without a rival, no orator to oppose him, who had courage even to look him in the face.

However, the Duke of Newcastle still flattered

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Negotiations for forming a ministry.

himself that art and negotiation might set every thing right; but Pitt would listen to no terms of accommodation, and absolutely refused to treat, declaring that he had infinite respect for his grace in his private capacity, but that a plain man, unpracticed in the policy of a court, must never presume to be the associate of so experienced a minister.

Proposals were then made to the Earl of Egmont, who was a good speaker in parliament, had an excellent character in private life, and was thought to have a spirit which would not be easily intimidated. Business and politics were his only amusements; and he had parts as well as application. But there is a certain wise saying, that every man should have a respect for *himself*; which maxim may have been understood by his lordship in the literal sense; for it appeared, both by his manner and discourse, that he respected himself rather more than the world respected him.

The Duke of Newcastle offered to make him Secretary of State; but Egmont, whose object was an English peerage, and who had not great faith in ministerial promises, refused to engage unless he was

1756. immediately removed to the House of Lords, which was directly contrary to the Duke of Newcastle's purposes; the House of Commons being the only place where he wanted assistance.

His grace's next application was to my Lord President; and the proposal made was exchange of employments: the Duke of Newcastle to be President of the Council; Lord Granville to be at the head of the treasury, and first minister. But Granville soon convinced him, that whatever might have been his object ten years ago, experience had made him wiser; and that he was perfectly contented with the ease and dignity of his present situation.

Resignation of Duke of Newcastle,

At last, when every proposal had been rejected, when no man would stand in the gap, the Duke of Newcastle unwillingly resigned his employment, which he had not courage to hold.

of Earl of Hardwick.

He was followed by his friend the Earl of Hardwick, who resigned the great seal, much to the regret of all dispassionate men, and indeed of the nation in general. He had been Chancellor near twenty years, and was inferior to few who had gone before him, having executed that high office with integrity,

diligence, and uncommon abilities. The statesman might, perhaps, in some particulars, be the reverse of the judge; yet even in that capacity, he had been the chief support of the Duke of Newcastle's administration. 1756.

Lord Anson dismissed.

Lord Anson was also dismissed from the Admiralty; a violent clamor having been raised against him, of which he was no more deserving than of the high reputation which preceded it.

He was, in reality, a good sea officer, and had gained a considerable victory over the French in the last war: but nature had not endowed him with those extraordinary abilities which had been so liberally granted him by the whole nation. Now, on the contrary, he is to be allowed no merit whatsoever; the loss of Minorca is to be imputed to his misconduct, though many were equally, some infinitely more blamable: his slowness in business is to be called negligence; and his silence and reserve, which formerly passed for wisdom, takes the name of dulness, and of want of capacity.

The Duke of Devonshire, who had many of the good qualities of his father, but seemed less averse to

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Duke of Devonshire first Lord of Treasury.

business, and better qualified for a court, succeeded the Duke of Newcastle as first Commissioner of the Treasury: yet did not accept till his Majesty had given his word, that in case he disliked his employment, he should be at full liberty to resign at the end of the approaching session of parliament.

New ministry.

Legge was appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer in the room of Sir George Lyttleton, who was made a peer. Pitt succeeded Fox as Secretary of State. Earl Temple was placed at the head of the Admiralty. The great seal was put in commission; Willes, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, being first Commissioner. George Greenville succeeded Dodington as Treasurer of the Navy; and the remaining friends of the new Secretary were all provided for, either in the treasury, admiralty, or other places of less consequence, in proportion to their interest or their abilities.

There was, indeed, one exception; Charles Townshend being made Treasurer of the Chambers, though he seemed fully qualified for a more active employment.

But Pitt did not chuse to advance a young man

1756.

Pitt and Townshend.

to a ministerial office, whose abilities were of the same kind, and so nearly equal to his own.

Both had fine natural parts; both were capable of great application: which was the greater master of abuse could not easily be determined: and if there was something more awful and compulsive in Pitt's oratory, there was more acuteness and more wit in Charles Townshend's.

Though the settling this new administration was the work of a few days, there had been sufficient time for much caballing, and for raising many difficulties. Pitt's demands were at first thought so unreasonable, that the king had authorised the Duke of Devonshire to form an administration in concert with Fox, the Duke of Bedford, and some of the Duke of Newcastle's friends, with any other assistance which could be obtained, provided Pitt and his adherents might be totally excluded.

Fox and some others were ready to engage; a meeting was proposed of those who were called the king's friends, and during two days it seemed doubtful who were to be our governors. But in this interval Pitt became more reasonable; and the Duke of De-

1756. vonshire advised his Majesty to comply with his demands; whereupon the administration was formed in the manner already mentioned: on which account the Duke of Devonshire was unjustly censured by some unreasonable friends; for he joined Pitt rather than Fox, not from any change of friendship, or any partiality in Pitt's favor, but because it was more safe to be united with him who had the nation of his side than with the man who was the most unpopular. A reason which will have its proper weight with most ministers.

Speech on opening parliament.

All previous articles being now settled, the session of parliament opened with a speech from the throne, which, by its style and substance, appeared to be the work of a new speech-maker. The militia, which his Majesty had always turned into ridicule, being strongly recommended; the late administration censured, and the uncourtly addresses of the preceding summer receiving the highest commendations.

King dissatisfied.

But though his Majesty found it necessary to talk this language to his parliament, in common conversation he made a frank declaration of his real sentiments: particularly being informed that an im-

1756.

pudent printer was to be punished for having published a spurious speech, he answered, that he hoped the man's punishment would be of the mildest sort, because he had read both, and, as far as he understood either of them, he liked the spurious speech better than his own.

King further disgusted with ministry.

An event happened the first day of the session, which did not add to the king's partiality for his new ministers. It had been mentioned in the speech that the Electoral troops were immediately to return to their own country, and it was proposed in the Lords address to thank the king for having brought them to England, at a time when we wanted their assistance; which seemed a compliment of mere decency, his Majesty having ordered them over at the request of both houses of parliament.

But the new chief of the Admiralty was of a contrary opinion: he came, as he told the Lords, out of a sick bed, at the hazard of his life, (indeed, he made a most sorrowful appearance), to represent to their lordships the fatal consequences of the intended compliment. That the people of England would be offended even at the name of Hanover, or of foreign

1756. mercenaries: that the thanks proposed might raise suspicions that a total change of measures was not intended; which would break that harmony and union, now so happily established. He added many other arguments of the same kind, without mentioning the true reason of his disapprobation, namely, the Duke of Devonshire's having added this compliment without consulting him. And having finished his oration, went out of the house with a thorough conviction that such weighty reasons must be quite unanswerable.

If his Majesty was dissatisfied with the parliamentary conduct of his ministers, their behaviour in the closet, though hitherto not very offensive, was, at least, very disagreeable.

King and ministers ill suited to one another.

The king, who had a quick conception, and did not like to be kept long in suspence, expected that those who talked to him on business should use no superfluous arguments, but should come at once to the point: whilst Pitt and Lord Temple, who were orators even in familiar conversation, endeavoured to guide his Majesty's passions, and to convince his judgment according to the rules of rhetorick.

1756.

Byng's affair increases their mutual dissatisfaction.

Their mutual dissatisfaction was soon increased by the affair of Admiral Bing, who had been condemned by a court martial, but at the same time had been strongly recommended to his Majesty's mercy.

The popular cry was violent against the admiral; but Pitt and Lord Temple were desirous to save him: partly to please Leicester House, and partly because making him less criminal, would throw greater blame on the late administration.

But, to avoid the odium of protecting a man who had been hanged in effigy in every town in England, they wanted the king to pardon him without their seeming to interfere; agreeable to the practice of most ministers, who take all merit to themselves when measures are approved of, and load their master with those acts of prerogative which are most unpopular.

His Majesty, however, not chusing to be their dupe, obliged them to pull off the mask; and the sentence against the admiral was not carried into execution, till, by their behaviour in parliament, they had given public proof of their partiality.

1756.

Pitt's merit in North America.

In the mean time, Mr. Pitt had some merit in providing for the security of North America, which, during our political squabbles, had been shamefully neglected.

After Braddock's defeat, near Fort du Quesne, a reinforcement had been sent from England; a regiment had also been raised consisting of four battalions of German protestants, and Lord Loudon had been appointed Commander in Chief, who had seen some service in the preceding war, and was esteemed as good an officer as any who would undertake the command.

State of affairs there.

Yet our affairs were in a bad situation; for though our colonies were superior to those of the enemy in wealth and the number of inhabitants, the French were as much our superiors in military discipline: almost every man amongst them was a soldier, most of the Indians were attached to their interest; and they had a chain of forts at the back of our settlements, where we lay open and defenceless.

All these evils were now to be remedied: Holborn was to command a powerful fleet, with a considerable

body of land forces, who were to join Lord Loudon: 1756.
Louisburg was to be attacked by sea and land: from thence we were to proceed to Quebec, take that also: which being effected, the French must soon be driven out from the whole continent.

This was a bold project. Desponding politicians may, perhaps, call it a wild one: at the same time, such a formidable armament must naturally raise our expectations, and give hopes of a successful campaign; wherein we were greatly disappointed the summer following.

Court and ministry.

But to return to our affairs at court: his Majesty became every day more averse to his new ministers. Pitt, indeed, had not frequent occasions of giving offence, having been confined by the gout the greater part of the winter; and when he made his appearance he behaved with proper respect, so that the king, though he did not like his long speeches, always treated him like a gentleman.

But to Lord Temple he had the strongest aversion, his lordship having a pert familiarity, which is not always agreeable to majesty: besides, in the affair

1756. of Admiral Bing, he had used some insolent expressions which the king would never forgive.

His Majesty had now determined to dismiss them both as soon as possible, which opens a new scene wherein I must be guilty of much egotism, having been a principal agent in most of the subsequent transactions.

Lord Waldegrave consulted and employed.

After I had quitted the Prince of Wales's service, in October 56, I remained quiet, troubling myself very little about politics, till the February following, when, by the death of Lord Walpole, I came into possession of my place in the Exchequer, in less than two months after the reversionary patent had passed the great seal.

On this occasion I thought it right to wait on the king, both to return thanks, and to resign my employment in the stannaries; the place of teller alone, being, as I told his Majesty, as much as any man was entitled to, and full as much as I either wanted or wished.

He received me very graciously; told me how glad he was that he had granted the reversion at the

right time, for that at present it would not have been in his power. He moreover insisted that I should continue Warden of the Stannaries some time longer, if it were only to exclude some impertinent relation of the new minister. 1756.

He then expressed his dislike to Pitt and Lord Temple in very strong terms; the substance of which was, that the secretary made him long speeches, which possibly might be very fine, but were greatly beyond his comprehension; and that his letters were affected, formal, and pedantic.

That as to Temple, he was so disagreeable a fellow, there was no bearing him; that when he attempted to argue, he was pert, and sometimes insolent; that when he meant to be civil, he was exceeding troublesome, and that in the business of his office he was totally ignorant.

He next questioned me concerning the Duke of Newcastle; to which I answered, that though he was no longer a minister, it was very apparent a great majority in both houses of parliament still considered him as their chief, and were ready to act under his direction. That some of these might possibly be

1756. attached to him by a principle of gratitude; but the greater number were his followers, because they had reason to expect that he would soon be in a condition to reward their services. That as to his Grace himself, he was quite doubtful what part he should take, being equally ballanced between fear on one side, and love of power on the other.

To this the king replied, "I know he is apt to be afraid, therefore go and encourage him; tell him I do not look upon myself as king, whilst I am in the hands of these scoundrels: that I am determined to get rid of them at any rate; that I expect his assistance, and that he may depend on my favor and protection."

In obedience to these instructions, I had several conferences with the Duke of Newcastle, the substance of which I reported to his Majesty. That I had found his Grace just as I expected; eager and impatient to come into power, but dreading the danger with which it must be accompanied.

That he had made one objection wherein I entirely agreed with him; that it was not yet the proper season for the changes his Majesty intended: that

1756.

when the supply was granted, the inquiry at an end, and his late ministers honorably acquitted, which would probably happen in less than two months, Pitt and his followers might then be set at defiance, without any considerable danger.

But that an immediate change of administration was a desperate measure, which would create much confusion, and might involve his Majesty in new, and, perhaps, insuperable difficulties.

To this the king made answer, neither the Duke of Newcastle nor yourself are judges of what I feel; I can endure their insolence no longer.

I replied, that I certainly did not mean to be an advocate for men against whom his Majesty was so justly offended; and I wished to defer the blow for this reason only, that we might strike with more force and greater certainty.

Duke of Newcastle.

I then proceeded, and told his Majesty that the Duke of Newcastle had also given other reasons which I thought necessary to be mentioned, because they were of a different nature from the former, and might operate as strongly two months hence, as at the present instant.

1756. That he seemed terrified with the danger to which this country was exposed, dreading the consequences of an unsuccessful war; jealous of Fox, and of those who were to be his associates in the new administration; yet not daring to be the only responsible minister, by taking the whole authority into his own hands. Therefore, though it might be his present intention to resume his seat at the head of the Treasury towards the end of the session of parliament, he seemed too irresolute to know his own mind, and consequently was not to be depended on.

Plans for change of ministry.

His Majesty ordered me to talk again to the Duke of Newcastle, giving me leave to say, in his name, whatever I should think necessary, and to endeavour by any means to bring him to some final determination.

He also directed me to talk with his Royal Highness the duke, and with Fox, that some plan of administration might be formed, in case the Duke of Newcastle should persevere in his present system of irresolution.

His Royal Highness pressed the king very strongly that Pitt and Lord Temple might be turned out without further deliberation; being desirous that a

new administration should be formed before he set out for Hanover, where he was to take the command of his Majesty's electoral forces. 1756.

Plans for change of ministry.

Fox was also desirous that a plan of administration should be prepared, which being in readiness, might, as circumstances should require, either be delayed, or carried into immediate execution.

As to the Duke of Newcastle, in proportion as the king grew more determined, he became more irresolute. He was subject to such frequent changes, that I found it necessary to declare that he must employ a new commissioner, unless he would assist my memory, and set down his proposals in writing; being vexed and ashamed that I could hardly say a word in his grace's name, which I was not obliged to contradict the day following. However, if my veracity was suspected, it was soon cleared; for when he explained himself by letter or memorial, there was still the same inconsistency.

One morning, when his Majesty was complaining how ill he had been used, he asked me the following question. *What must be done, if, after all this delay, the*

1756.

King's embarrassments.

Duke of Newcastle should at last fail me? I answered, that notwithstanding his present indecision, I hoped that in the end, he would do what his Majesty required: but that at all events, the Duke of Devonshire, though somewhat uneasy in his present employment, might be persuaded to keep it some months longer; during which time, if the Duke of Newcastle should perceive that business could be carried on without him, his jealousy would get the better of his fear; and though the Duke of Devonshire might be very willing to resign, the other would be still more eager to succeed him.

His Majesty answered, this will never do; the Duke of Devonshire has acted by me in the handsomest manner, and is in a very disagreeable situation, entirely on my account. I have promised that he shall be at full liberty, at the end of the session, and I must keep my word. He then added, if the Duke of Newcastle should disappoint me, I know but one person whom I would trust at the head of the Treasury; can you guess who I mean? Then after a short pause, *Why, it is yourself.*

1756.

Plans for new ministry continued.

Though I had had long experience of his Majesty's partiality towards me, I was under some confusion at this very particular instance of his favor and confidence. But I soon got the better of my surprise, and gave, as I thought, very sufficient reasons to prove my unfitness for such an employment.

His Majesty changed the discourse, and I went out of the closet, imagining it to have been a sudden thought which had occurred whilst he was speaking, and that I should hear nothing further on the subject.

However, this alarm made me still more earnest to encourage the Duke of Newcastle, though I had little expectation of success.

He frequently complained that I was continually pressing him to be the minister, offering in the king's name almost his own terms; when at the same time, his Majesty's confidence in the duke and Fox became every day more apparent.

I answered, that the fact was true, and might very easily be accounted for; that necessity obliged the king to trust somebody; and that the influence of others would naturally increase or diminish, in

1756. proportion as his grace shewed more or less inclination to give his assistance: and as to the other part of his accusation, though I had encouraged his return to his former employment, and had pressed his reconciliation with the duke and Fox, I had never deceived him with false professions of their personal regard and friendship; having strictly confined myself to the single assertion that they would support him to their utmost in his ministerial capacity, because they had rather the king should be in his hands than in the power of Pitt, Lord Bute, and Leicester House.

Fox receives king's commands.

Affairs remained several weeks in the same state of uncertainty: at last, the king growing more impatient, Fox received his commands to form a plan of administration, in concert with the duke. I was also to be consulted, and made acquainted with every particular; that when the scheme was fully prepared. and ready for his Majesty's inspection, I might lay it before him, and be able to clear up those points which required further explanation.

The scheme was soon compleated; the substance of which was, that Lord Holderness should write

letters to Pitt and Lord Temple, to dismiss them from his Majesty's service: that the Duke of Newcastle and Earl of Hardwick should be immediately acquainted with this dismission, and with the intended arrangement: by which it would be evident that their friends were to be employed, and that whenever they should be disposed to appear themselves on the stage, his Majesty would be ready to receive them.

1756.

Fox's plan of ministry.

The persons who were to have the refusal of the principal employments were Lord Egmont, Lord G. Sackville, Lord Halifax, Charles Townshend, Lord Strange, and Doddington.

Fox was to be paymaster, and an Irish reversion was to be granted to his children, as a compensation for giving up all hope of preferment in a future reign.

King hesitates.

When I shewed the plan to the king he made many objections, saying, that it possibly might be a good scheme for Fox, his friends, and relations; but that for his own part, it did not answer his purposes.

To which I replied, that in obedience to his

1756. Majesty's commands, I had been informed of every particular; but that there had not been a single article of my framing, nor was I anywise prejudiced in its favor. That Fox's request in behalf of his friends and family might be unreasonable: but that I imagined whoever were employed in forming a plan of administration, his Majesty would find none of them forgetful of their own interest.

That as to the persons named for the principal employments, most of them were good speakers in parliament, and that oratory was now esteemed the first quality of a minister.

That, indeed, some of these gentlemen might be already engaged on the side of the opposition; and others might not be inclined to take any part whatsoever, in the present state of confusion. But that they might be talked to, and when his Majesty knew their terms, he might then determine whether he would accept their services: and as to Fox himself, I was persuaded he would be thoroughly satisfied with whatever mark of favor his Majesty should think he deserved.

After some consideration, the king told me that

1756.

Attempts to form a ministry unsuccessful.

I might authorize Fox to treat with the several parties: whereupon the negotiation was begun, and the success was just as I had expected. Lord George Sackville, though he had been violent against Pitt at the beginning of the session, was now connected with him, and had entered into engagements with Leicester House.

Lord Egmont's object was a peerage; he therefore pleaded bad health, which would not bear the fatigue of the House of Commons.

Lord Halifax would not undertake the direction of the admiralty, unless the Duke of Newcastle would promise to support him, and his grace had not any inclination to give the least encouragement.

Charles Townshend hated Pitt, and disliked his employment, which was almost a sinecure. Yet did not think it advisable to undertake the defence of an old king, or to be connected with unpopular associates.

Lord Strange being then in the country was not applied to: so Doddington was the only person ready to engage, and he was to be treasurer of the navy,

1757. which had never been esteemed a ministerial employment.

Remarks. These transactions prove how necessary it is that princes should, on many occasions, do their own business.

Instead of negotiating by deputy, the king should have spoke separately to all the principal persons, told them, that though he wanted their assistance, he had no services to require of them, except such as he had a right to expect from honest men, and good Englishmen. But that they must make their option; for if they refused to engage as his friends, he would risk even the crown itself, rather than receive them hereafter, as the dependents and followers of any insolent minister.

Such an explanation would have had an immediate effect; and their pride, as well as their interest, would have determined them to support their sovereign, when they had found him resolute, and in his turn, ready to protect them.

It was now the end of March, and it being resolved that a decisive step should be taken before

1757.

the duke left England, an offer was made to the Earl of Winchelsea of his being appointed first commissioner of the admiralty, which was accepted by him with most unfashionable readiness; and Earl Temple was acquainted that his lordship's services were no longer necessary.

Earl Temple dismissed.

This dismission did not cause the least clamor or uneasiness; for Winchelsea had held the same office when Lord Granville was minister; and the conduct of our naval affairs had never given more general satisfaction than when he directed them. Besides, he was known to be steady and resolute; not one of those who can only act according to order, and are at all times ready to answer all purposes.

Earl of Winchelsea appointed.

It was imagined that on this occasion Pitt would immediately have resigned: but he did not chuse to save his enemies any trouble, and attended his duty at court with unusual assiduity; till he was turned out, which happened about a week after Lord Temple's dismission. This was followed by Legge's resigning the chancellorship of the Exchequer, and some other resignations.

Dismissals and resignations.

1757.

New attempts to form ministry

I was now charged with a new commission, being ordered by the king to notify to Sir Thomas Robinson, and Lord Duplin, his Majesty's intention of appointing the former secretary of state, the other chancellor of the Exchequer. I was to acquaint both that the king had made choice of them because they were men in whom he could repose a thorough confidence: that he knew their abilities, and expected their assistance. I added other reasons of my own, to little purpose; Lord Duplin excused himself, as not being equal to so high an employment, even in times of the greatest tranquillity. Sir Thomas Robinson pleaded also his incapacity; having already experienced that a secretary of state was under the constant necessity of defending himself in the House of Commons: that he had never been an orator, was too old to learn, neither would his health suffer him to undergo the fatigue of business. Both expressed great concern, hoped his Majesty would not be offended, but ended with an absolute refusal.

Duke of Newcastle.

At last, when every body had refused, the inquiry being over, and his Royal Highness gone to Hanover,

the Duke of Newcastle became more courageous, and seemed willing to make a bold effort, provided he might be at liberty to treat with proper persons: to which proposal his Majesty consented without the least difficulty. 1757.

To render this negotiation more effectual, his powers were greatly enlarged; there was a kind of tacite permission to treat even with Pitt himself.

But this treaty was of short duration; for Pitt, conscious of his strength, would not allow the Duke of Newcastle any real authority: and his grace could not yet submit to be only a nominal minister.

In consequence of this disagreement, another plan of administration was immediately formed, whereby Pitt and his adherents were to be totally excluded: the Duke of Newcastle to be at the head of the Treasury; Sir George Lee to be his chancellor of the Exchequer. Another plan.

His grace was now to make his appearance at court, that the affair might be finally settled; accordingly, he went to Kensington, was graciously received: the king consented to whatever he pro-

1757. posed, and all that remained was to carry the scheme into immediate execution.

Duke of Newcastle procrastinates.

But the Duke of Newcastle begged a delay of a few days, that he might communicate his plan to his principal friends, and make some necessary preparations; which request appeared so very reasonable, that his Majesty could not object, though he was convinced that this procrastination foreboded some mischief.

Leicester House alarmed.

Affairs of this nature are seldom long a secret; Leicester House was greatly alarmed, for they never imagined that the Duke of Newcastle had courage to be the only responsible minister, in open defiance of the heir apparent. Even Pitt himself began to wish that his demands had been less unreasonable. But there was no time for deliberation; so Bute was dispatched to the Earl of Chesterfield to engage him to propose to the Duke of Newcastle that the treaty might again be renewed.

Earl of Chesterfield.

They certainly could not have chose a more prevailing negotiator than the Earl of Chesterfield. For besides being a man of letters, and a wit, which

carries great weight and authority with the dull and ignorant, he had distinguished himself as a man of business in many of the highest offices; and having given up all ministerial views of his own, might now very justly be esteemed a man totally unprejudiced and disinterested. 1757.

He wrote a very able letter to the Duke of Newcastle, the purport of which was, that his administration would never be strong and permanent, till he was firmly united with Pitt and Leicester House; without which assistance he could never be safe, nor would the king be ever at ease. He also mentioned his conversation with Lord Bute, and seemed convinced that the princess and her son were better disposed, and that Pitt would be found less unreasonable than his Majesty expected.

The Duke of Newcastle shewed me this letter a few hours after he received it: I told his grace that it contained a great deal of truth, and a great deal of wisdom; but I feared it would be somewhat difficult to persuade the king to be of the same mind. That though I had never been one of Pitt's admirers, nor had much partiality for Leicester House, I had

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always pressed the king to be reconciled to both, even at the time, when, in obedience to his Majesty's commands, I was acting against them.

That I had often told his Majesty that Pitt was proud and resolute; but that good usage would make him tractable. That Leicester House was weak and obstinate; but by conniving at their folly, indulging them in trifles, and making them know that he was resolved to be master in affairs of consequence, he might bring them also under proper subjection. But that all this advice had been to little purpose; and I was very apprehensive that Lord Chesterfield's letter would have no better effect.

King consents to admit Pitt.

However, the letter was shewn, and his Majesty most unwillingly consented that Pitt and his friends should once more be treated with: the Duke of Newcastle having first given his word, that in case they still continued unreasonable, he would perform his part, and carry the former scheme into immediate execution.

The Duke of Newcastle and Lord Hardwick had several conferences with Pitt and Lord Bute: articles of peace and amity were at last agreed upon; and

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a plan of administration was prepared, which was carried to Kensington to receive the royal assent, without having given the least notice to Sir George Lee, or to any of those gentlemen, who a few days before had entered into engagements with the Duke of Newcastle, and were waiting in their best cloaths, in hourly expectation of being sent for to court, to kiss his Majesty's hand.

King rejects new plan of ministry.

But when the king examined this new agreement, he soon perceived that all his favorite points were entirely given up: Winchelsea was to be displaced, with a total change of the Admiralty: Fox was not to be paymaster: and Lord Temple, to whom he had given a negative, was to have a cabinet council employment.

Duke of Newcastle declines acting.

His Majesty cut the affair short, and at once rejected their proposals: whilst, on the other hand, the Duke of Newcastle, notwithstanding his most solemn promises, refused to execute the former plan, or to take part in any administration, unless he had the assistance of Pitt and his associates.

The death of the Duke of Grafton, which hap-

1757. pened during these transactions, was very prejudicial to his Majesty's affairs.

Duke of Grafton.

He was a few days older than the king; had been Lord Chamberlain during the whole reign, and had a particular manner of talking to his master on all subjects, and of touching upon the most tender points, which no other person ever ventured to imitate.

He usually turned politics into ridicule; had never applied himself to business; and as to books, was totally illiterate: yet from long observation, and great natural sagacity, he became the ablest courtier of his time; had the most perfect knowledge both of king and ministers; and had more opportunities than any man of doing good or bad offices.

He was a great teazer; had an established right of saying whatever he pleased; and by a most intimate acquaintance with all the Duke of Newcastle's evasions, had acquired such an ascendant over him, that, had he negotiated in my stead, he probably would have succeeded where I failed.

It was, to the best of my memory, Tuesday, the

7th of June, when the Duke of Newcastle made his final declaration. The morning following I went to Kensington, knowing his Majesty must be under great difficulties, and thinking it right to shew myself, in case it should be his pleasure to charge me with any new commission. 1757.

After the levee, the Duke of Devonshire, the Duke of Bedford, and Lord Granville, went seperately into the closet: when they came out, they talked to me of the king's very disagreeable situation; that this was no time for consulting our own ease, and that it was our duty to assist him to the utmost of our strength and abilities.

Lord Waldegrave's audience.

During this conversation, his Majesty sent for me, and began by accusing the Duke of Newcastle, saying, that he had now proved himself what he had long thought him, equally false and ungrateful: that he believed few princes had been exposed to such scandalous treatment: but that it was in my power to disengage him from all his difficulties, by accepting the place of first commissioner of the treasury. That he would hear no excuses of my want of experience, or want of abilities; for that he had not trusted to

1757.

Lord Waldegrave's audience.

his own judgement, but had taken the best advice; and that all whom he had consulted were unanimous in this particular, that in his present circumstances he could not make choice of a more proper person.

I answered, that in return for so much favor and goodness, I would lay myself open without the least reserve, disguising neither my strength nor my weakness. That as an independent man, who was known to be honoured with his Majesty's confidence, I might be useful on many occasions; and having no private views, neither the jealousy of his ministers nor the anger of his successor would in the least intimidate me; but, on the contrary, would raise my spirits, and make me still more active in his Majesty's service.

On the other hand, whenever I acted on my own account, my insufficiency would immediately appear; all my weight and influence would vanish in an instant.

That I did not mean to magnify the dangers or difficulties of a ministerial employment; nor did I think there was any thing mysterious in the art of politics, which might not be attained by proper application, and a tolerable capacity.

But that prudence and diligence in the business of office were only to be rated amongst the inferior qualities of a first commissioner of the treasury; that nothing could be done for the public service, without a steady majority in both houses of parliament; and that a minister must expect few followers, who had never cultivated political friendships, and had always abhorred party violence. 1757.

These and many other reasons had not the least effect, the king continuing to press me in the strongest and most affecting terms. At last, partly moved by his distress, partly yielding to his persuasion, or perhaps fired by some latent spark of pride or ambition, I told his Majesty, that if he really was convinced it was in my power to serve him, I would no longer be guided by my own judgement, and whatever might be the consequence, I was ready to obey his commands. I had scarce uttered my consent, when his Majesty took me by the hand, saying, with great eagerness, *I heartily thank you: you have now given your word, and cannot go back.*

Lord Waldegrave accepts treasury.

Our conversation being ended, the king sent for the Duke of Devonshire, told him what had passed,

1757.

Attempts to complete Lord Waldegrave's ministry.

and ordered him and Fox to talk with me that evening, that a new scheme might be formed with all possible expedition.

I went from Kensington to the House of Lords, to acquaint the Duke of Newcastle with my very unexpected promotion. His grace seemed much embarrassed; lamented that the king's affairs were going into great confusion; said that he had done every thing to assist his Majesty, as far as was practicable, though he had been suspected very unjustly, and had been treated very unkindly. That he was under great concern on my account, that I might depend on his personal regard and friendship, but hoped I did not expect that he should make any further promises.

I answered, that I was much obliged to him for his professions of personal friendship, and expected nothing more; for as to his political assistance, if he did not owe it to the king, I had not the least reason to hope for it. That I had accepted an employment not from choice, but because I thought it a duty to obey my sovereign's lawful commands: that I was sensible I must be exposed to many difficulties,

1757.

Lord Waldegrave's ministry.

perhaps to some danger; but should make myself easy as to that particular, being determined to do nothing which I should be afraid or ashamed to answer for.

In the evening, I went with the Duke of Devonshire to meet Fox at Holland House, and was surprised to find him much changed since the morning; more apprehensive of danger, more doubtful of success.

He had been talking with some gentlemen, whose assistance in the House of Commons he had much depended on, and had not found them so ready to engage, as he might reasonably have expected: he had also been discouraged by the king's conversation in the morning, who had received him with coolness, and seemed to mistrust him, even whilst he was requiring his services.

Indeed, it was very apparent that his Majesty had neither forgot the circumstances of his being made secretary of state, nor the consequences of his late resignation; and that he made use of him on the present occasion, not from choice, but because he

1757. Lord Waldegrave's ministry.

was the only man of abilities who had spirit to answer Pitt in his own language.

After various discourse on the several topicks of foreign and domestic politics, we proceeded to our plan of administration, which was somewhat confused and imperfect; for we were obliged to take many things for granted, which at best were doubtful; and to rely on many persons who had not as yet entered into any engagements.

The principal points were, indeed, settled: Winchelsea had already formed his admiralty; I was to be first Commissioner of the Treasury; Fox, Chancellor of the Exchequer; and the Earl of Egremont Secretary of State. As to the inferior places, there were numbers ready to take them, though not exactly the men we would have chose; and as to other particulars, we were to wait for events, and avail ourselves of such future advantages, as fortune should please to bestow on us.

Lord Holderness resigns.

The Earl of Holderness surprised every body the next morning, by resigning his employment, without having given the least previous notice.

1757.

Lord Holderness.

He had been made secretary of state merely because he was one of the king's favorites, and had been ready on all occasions to act according to direction. His Majesty not only raised him, but had always strongly supported him; particularly at the late change of administration, when there was a violent run against him. I remember his Majesty telling me at that time, how happy he was that he had just been able to save poor Holderness.

The king behaved on this occasion with great temper, and with proper dignity. He did not condescend to expostulate, or to take notice of his ingratitude: but stopt him short with these words, *You come here to resign: I have no curiosity to know your reasons.* When I went into the closet, he told me with great coolness, *Holderness has resigned: you may think I was surprised; but the loss is not considerable.*

I then gave him an account of what had passed the preceding evening: and he ordered us to meet again that night, with the addition of the Earls of Granville and Winchelsea.

We met at the appointed time: Fox still seemed

1757.

Meeting to form a ministry.

anxious and doubtful, having received no new encouragement since the last meeting.

However, we were somewhat animated by Lord Granville, who assured us, in his lively manner, that we could not fail of success.

That the whole force of government was now firmly united; army, navy, treasury, church, and all their subordinate branches.

That though volunteers did not come in so fast as had been expected, we had the whole summer before us to raise recruits: and though of late years ministers did not think themselves safe without a majority in the House of Commons of one hundred and fifty or two hundred, he remembered the time when twenty or thirty were thought more than sufficient.

Winchelsea also seemed quite easy and determined; and we parted in tolerable good spirits.

I next morning received a letter from the Duke of Newcastle, desiring I would call on him before I went to court. I waited on him immediately; and he began by expressing great uneasiness lest the king should suspect him of having been the cause of

1757.

Conference with Duke of Newcastle.

Holderness's resignation: called God to witness that, far from having given any sort of encouragement, it was quite unknown to him, till he received a letter from Lord Holderness, acquainting him with his resolution, a very few hours before it was executed. He then shewed me the letter, and begged I would state the case fairly to the king, that he might know the whole truth.

We then talked on other subjects: he told me that the king did him great injustice, thinking him capable of every thing that was bad, and that whoever resigned, or whoever refused to engage, was supposed to act under his direction.

I answered, it was very certain the king did suspect him, as to some particulars, and I would give one instance. The Earl of Halifax having been offered a very considerable employment, had declared to several persons that he should have accepted with the greatest readiness had he been at liberty to follow his own inclination; but was under a necessity of refusing, because he thought himself bound in honor not to take any part without the Duke of Newcastle's consent.

1757.

Conferences with Duke of Newcastle.

I then mentioned other similar cases, and appealed to himself, whether there might not be some foundation for his Majesty's suspicions.

His grace did not think it necessary to make answer to particular facts; but said in general, that it was hard he should be condemned because some gentlemen endeavoured to clear themselves by loading him: that it was not his fault if many persons did apply to him; and that he wished with all his heart they would judge for themselves. That he had given me notice, some days ago, of a man near the king's person, a favorite, one in whom his Majesty had the greatest confidence, who would soon resign his employment: that I might easily guess he meant Holderness, though he had not named him; and that with a single word, he could cause so many resignations, as would give the court a very empty appearance.

I did not think it necessary to add to his confusion, by comparing his last words with the solemn declaration which I was to make, in his grace's name, concerning Holderness's resignation; but contented myself with telling him, that if it was in his power to

deprive the king of his servants, and if he really intended it, the sooner it was done, the better; that his Majesty might know with certainty, what he had to expect, and whom he had to depend on. 1757.

As there had been some acidity in the latter part of our discourse, we endeavoured to correct it, by exchanging a few compliments, which being ended, I took my leave, and went to Kensington.

King dispirited.

I found the king much dispirited; complaining that Fox did not succeed in his negotiation; that there would be many more resignations; and that almost every body abandoned him. He assured me that he should always remember how I had stood by him to the last; but being now in the hands of his enemies, he would not expose those whom he esteemed, and who had served him faithfully, to any further danger.

That we were to have another meeting in the evening, but he was very sensible it would be to no purpose.

I answered, that though I had never been very sanguine in my expectations, I did not think our case quite desperate: for, though we might not have

1757. sufficient strength to form an administration, we were strong enough to give our opponents some uneasiness; and by a firm and steady behaviour, might oblige them to accept of reasonable terms. That it would be bad policy to lay down our arms, and then negotiate; for that in political, as well as military warfare, it was most safe, as well as honorable, to capitulate sword in hand.

His Majesty seemed somewhat animated by this conversation, which gave him momentary relief: but his doubts and apprehensions returned after a short interval, and I was sorry to find so much despondency, where I lately wished there had been less confidence.

Another meeting.

Our meeting in the evening consisted of the Duke of Devonshire, the Duke of Bedford, Earl of Granville, Earl of Winchelsea, Earl Gower, Fox, and myself.

If Winchelsea and Granville continued stout and resolute, the Duke of Bedford was greatly beyond them. He insisted that our administration would be infinitely the strongest that had ever been known in this country: and was almost in a passion against

1757.

Lord Waldegrave's ministry.

Fox, for having started some difficulties, and for seeming to doubt our success.

That as to replacing Holderness, Lord Gower, at present Lord Privy Seal, and fond of ease and pleasure as much as any man, was ready to change for a more laborious employment, and would be secretary of state, in case we thought it necessary: and as to other resigners, he wished their numbers were more considerable, for that every vacancy would either serve an old friend, or gain a new one.

Lord Gower confirmed what the Duke of Bedford had promised for him; spoke with great modesty, but declared he would take the employment without the least hesitation, if we thought him capable, and could not find a more proper person.

As to myself, I plainly perceived by the king's discourse in the morning, and by some private conversation with the Duke of Devonshire and Fox, that our plan would not be carried into execution, and might possibly be given up the day following. However, it seemed mean and pitiful to leave the king in a worse situation than that in which we had found him. I therefore took the spirited side of the

1757. question; and told them, that though I had never been ambitious of being a minister, and though our affairs did not appear to me in the most favorable light, the king having thought proper to require my assistance, I had considered the consequences, had given my word, and was ready to perform my part, whenever I was called upon.

Difficulties in forming ministry.

The Duke of Bedford was pleased with this declaration; but whispered me at parting, that it would be to no purpose to give ourselves any further trouble; for we could not possibly go on, without a principal actor in the House of Commons, and that Fox had not spirit to undertake it.

In spite of all our difficulties, it was still the opinion without doors, that we were too desperate to desist, and that our plan of administration would be immediately executed.

Lord Chief Justice Mansfield was ordered to be at Kensington the next morning: the reason assigned was that he should deliver back the Exchequer seals, which had been in his possession from the time of Legge's resignation.

But the real business was of a different nature.

1757.

The king discoursed with him a considerable time in the most confidential manner; entered into a particular detail of all his grievances, and, as bold and vigorous measures were no longer necessary, he could not have advised with a more prudent or more able counsellor.

Lord Mansfield has full powers.

The conversation ended by giving Lord Mansfield full powers to negotiate with Pitt and the Duke of Newcastle; his Majesty only insisting that Lord Temple should have no employment which required frequent attendance in the closet; and that Fox should be appointed paymaster: which last demand did not proceed from any present partiality, but was the fulfilling of a former engagement.

Before the final resolution was taken, his Majesty thought proper to ask my advice, and encouraged me to speak my mind with a freedom which I should have thought indecent, if I had not been commanded to conceal nothing from him.

I told him I was clear in my opinion that our administration would be routed at the opening of the next session of parliament; for that the Duke of Newcastle had a considerable majority in the House of Commons, whilst the popular cry without doors

1757. was violent in favor of Mr. Pitt: and though the Duke of Newcastle hated Pitt as much as Pitt despised the Duke of Newcastle, they were united in one particular—that nothing should be done for the public service till they were ministers.

That the whole weight of opposition rested on a single point—his Majesty's supposed partiality to his electoral subjects, which would at any time set the nation in a flame; and that being thought an enemy to Hanover was the solid foundation of Pitt's popularity.

That as to Jacobitism, it was indeed at a low ebb: but there was a mutinous spirit in the lower class of people, which might in a moment break out in acts of the greatest violence: whilst others were sullen and discontented, ignorant of the blessings they enjoyed, sensible only that they paid heavy taxes, and quite indifferent who were their governors.

That in times of peace we might have had opportunities of undeceiving the people, of restoring them to their sober senses; or, if our administration had been overturned, his ministers would have been the only sufferers.

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But in our present state of confusion, delay was absolute ruin; for that doing nothing was worse than doing wrong.

Lord Waldegrave's advice.

It was, therefore, my very humble advice, that his Majesty should give way to the necessity of the times: and if he would graciously overlook some past offences, and would gratify Pitt's vanity with a moderate share of that affability and courteousness, which he so liberally bestowed on so many of his servants, I was convinced he would find him no intractable minister.

That I was not ignorant that Pitt could be guilty of the worst of actions, whenever his ambition, his pride, or his resentment were to be gratified; but that he could also be sensible of good treatment: was bold and resolute, above doing things by halves; and if he once engaged, would go farther than any man in this country. Nor would his former violence against Hanover be any kind of obstacle, as he had given frequent proofs that he could change sides, whenever he found it necessary, and could deny his own words with an unembarrassed countenance.

That as to the Duke of Newcastle, who lately

1757. fancied himself independent, and had given so much uneasiness, he would find himself in his Majesty's power the moment he entered into employment; for, as all the offices of business would be under the direction of his new allies, he could only be considerable by his interest in the closet; and that his fear and jealousy of Pitt would be better security for his good behaviour, than a thousand promises.

King's observations.

His Majesty heard every thing I said with great patience; and answered with some cheerfulness, that according to my description, his situation was not much to be envied; but he could assure me it was infinitely more disagreeable than I represented it. That he believed few princes had been exposed to such treatment; that we were angry because he was partial to his electorate, though he desired nothing more to be done for Hanover than what we were bound in honor and justice to do for any country whatsoever, when it was exposed to danger entirely on our account.

That we were, indeed, a very extraordinary people, continually talking of our constitution, laws, and liberty. That as to our constitution, he allowed

1757.

King's observations on English politics.

it to be a good one, and defied any man to produce a single instance wherein he had exceeded his proper limits. That he never meant to screen or protect any servant who had done amiss; but still he had a right to chuse those who were to serve him, though, at present, so far from having an option, he was not even allowed a negative.

That as to our laws, we passed near a hundred every session, which seemed made for no other purpose, but to afford us the pleasure of breaking them: and as to our zeal for liberty, it was in itself highly commendable; but our notions must be somewhat singular, when the chief of the nobility chose rather to be the dependents and followers of a Duke of Newcastle than to be the friends and counsellors of their sovereign.

The negotiation with Pitt and the Duke of Newcastle did not remain long in Lord Mansfield's hands: some thinking him too able, others that he was not enough their friend. The Duke of Newcastle, after what had passed, was ashamed and afraid to appear in the king's presence: so the treaty was undertaken and concluded by the Earl of Hardwick;

1757.

Lord Hardwick negotiates a ministry.

a proper person to negotiate, having great influence over the Duke of Newcastle, as well as some credit with Pitt, without being disagreeable to the king himself. For though his Majesty had been somewhat dissatisfied with his late behaviour, he could not accuse him either of breach of word, or of having given any personal offence.

The whole business between the king and the different factions might have been settled in a few hours; but when they found that his Majesty complied with all their demands, and would not give them a pretence to be dissatisfied, they quarrelled amongst themselves; and it was at least a fortnight before they could be brought to a tolerable agreement.

The ministry.

At last the treaty was concluded, the substance of which was, that the Duke of Newcastle should be first Commissioner of the Treasury, without one man at the board who really belonged to him; and Legge was to be once more his Chancellor of the Exchequer. Pitt was to be again Secretary of State: Lord Temple to be Privy Seal, in the room of Lord Gower, who was to be Master of the Horse, in the

room of the Duke of Dorset; who was to have a large pension, under the name of additional salary, annexed to his place of Warden of the Cinque Ports. 1757.

Pratt was to be made Attorney-general, in the room of Sir Robert Henley; who was made Lord Keeper, with a pension, and a good reversion for his son.

Fox was to be paymaster; and Potter, who formerly held half that office, was to be made one of the Vice Treasurers of Ireland, in the room of the Earl of Cholmondeley, who was also to have a very considerable pension on the Irish establishment.

But the most surprising phenomenon was Lord Anson returning to his old employment, in spite of his unpopularity, and of all the abuse which had been raised against him by the very men who were now to be his associates, either at the cabinet council or at the board of admiralty.

Lord Waldegrave receives the garter.

During these negotiations, I received a letter from the Duke of Devonshire, acquainting me that his Majesty intended to give me the vacant garter, and that a chapter was to be held for that purpose as soon as possible.

1757. Such a mark of distinction would at all times have been highly honorable, but was doubly acceptable in my present situation. It was also the first instance in his Majesty's reign, of a garter being given when there was only one vacancy: and as it was very apparent that the king had not consulted his new ministers on the present occasion, it shewed the world that he had not entirely divested himself of all his authority.

Lord Waldegrave's audience with the king.

When I went to return thanks, he was pleased to express some concern that I could not still be one of his ministers. To which I answered, that my hopes and fears being entirely at an end, I might speak of past transactions as of things quite indifferent.

That though I had obeyed his Majesty's commands without any shew of uneasiness, I had no conception how a reasonable man, who was not necessitous, could have any inducement to undergo the fatigue and anxiety of a ministerial employment, unless he was animated by a probable expectation of rendering his king and country some important services, and of being afterwards rewarded with that

1757.

Lord Waldegrave.

general approbation which such services merited. But knowing the first to be impracticable, and the latter unattainable; being easy in my circumstances, having obtained the highest honors, and being admitted to the nearest approach of his Majesty's person, which I esteemed the most valuable part of a ministerial employment, I considered the place of minister, in every other respect, as the greatest misfortune which could hereafter befall me.

At the same time I was not totally disengaged from politics, and should always be in readiness to oppose either his ministers or his heir apparent, if they presumed to act in an improper manner; but if they behaved well, which did not seem quite impossible, I should think I could do no better service than to remain quiet, avoiding to give any kind of offence, or the slightest cause of jealousy.

I had still a more cogent reason to wish for a private station, which I had formerly hinted to his Majesty, but had never fully explained.

I must irretrievably have lost both his favor and confidence, the moment I became an acting minister. For I had the misfortune to differ from my master

1757.

Lord Waldegrave averse to sacrifices for Hanover.

in the most tender point, in relation to German politics: and though I might have done more for the support of Hanover than was consistent with the interest of my country, it would have been far short of his Majesty's expectations, short even of that which has lately been complyed with by our patriot minister.

New ministers kiss hands.

On the day they were all to kiss hands, I went to Kensington, to entertain myself with the innocent, or, perhaps, ill-natured amusement of examining the different countenances.

The behaviour of Pitt and his party was decent and sensible; they had neither the insolence of men who had gained a victory, nor were they awkward and disconcerted, like those who come to a place where they know they are not welcome.

But as to the Duke of Newcastle, and his friends the resigners, there was a mixture of fear and of shame in their countenances: they were real objects of compassion.

No man made a more respectable appearance than the Earl of Winchelsea. When the king had determined to dismiss Lord Temple, he came to his

Majesty's assistance the moment he was called upon, 1757.
though he knew that the place had been offered to the Earl of Halifax, who had refused it.

Whilst he continued in the employment, he not only shewed himself greatly superior to his predecessor, which did not require any extraordinary talents, but his whole conduct was so unexceptionable, that faction itself was obliged to be silent.

On the present occasion the king was willing to support him, and would have insisted, as far as he was able, that he should have continued where he was, or that he should have changed for some cabinet council employment: but he very handsomely declined both, saying, that his Majesty should be under no difficulties on his account: that as to being first Commissioner of the Admiralty, the new ministers would never suffer it; nor did he desire to act with men to whom he had declared himself an enemy: and as to having one of the great offices, it might answer his purposes if he wanted an honorable pension; but could not possibly do the king any sort of service.

Having frequently mentioned the Duke of Devon-

1757.

Duke of Devonshire.

shire, I shall add some particulars concerning him, which might have interrupted my narrative, had they been related in their proper place.

He had been appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in the year 1755, whilst his father was still alive: and had been sent to his government before the declaration of war, partly to inspect the military affairs of that country; but more particularly to compose their civil dissensions, which had raged with uncommon violence during the latter period of the Duke of Dorset's administration.

His return to England had been subsequent to the loss of Minorca, consequently he was clear of that obloquy and reproach, to which every other minister was so deservedly exposed.

When the administration was changed, he seemed the most proper person to succeed the Duke of Newcastle, on account of the king's favor, and the number of his friends.

Pitt and Leicester House, for a time, paid great court to him; but when they perceived that he had a will of his own, in some material articles; that he would neither totally abandon his old master, nor

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renounce his former friends, all cordiality and confidence was immediately at an end.

Mr. Pitt's dismission from his Majesty's service, his reconciliation with the Duke of Newcastle, and his return to his former employment, have been already related.

Duke of Devonshire Lord Chamberlain.

As to the Duke of Devonshire, the king appointed him Lord Chamberlain several weeks before he quitted the treasury; and though he had been disgusted by faction, and perplexed with difficulties, he lost no reputation; for great things had never been expected from him as a minister; and in the ordinary business of his office, he had shown great punctuality and diligence, and no want of capacity.

Concluding reflections.

I have now finished my relation of all the material transactions wherein I was immediately concerned; and though I can never forget my obligations to the kindest of masters, I have been too long behind the scenes, I have had too near a view of the machinery of a court, to envy any man either the power of a minister, or the favor of princes.

1757.

Concluding reflections.

The constant anxiety, and frequent mortifications, which accompany ministerial employments, are tolerably well understood; but the world is totally unacquainted with the situation of those whom fortune has selected to be the constant attendants and companions of royalty, who partake of its domestic amusements, and social happiness.

But I must not lift up the veil; and shall only add, that no man can have a clear conception how great personages pass their leisure hours, who has not been a prince's governor, or a king's favorite.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

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Various documents and contemporary correspondence confirm all the facts and most of the remarks of Lord Waldegrave, on the state of parties previous to 1755.

The Duke of Newcastle, on the death of his brother Mr. Pelham, or soon afterwards, seems to have entertained the project of engrossing all ministerial power entirely to himself. With this view, he intended to admit no leading member of the House of Commons into the cabinet, or at least to intrust none there with the secrets of his government. He thought to elude all opposition by keeping the two most formidable men in that house, Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox, in subordinate offices, and inspiring each with jealousy and apprehensions of the other's approaching advancement. But they were too sagacious to become the dupes of

such an artifice; and partly from resentment, partly from a principle of attachment to that assembly to which they owed their importance, they concurred in the "*sort of parliamentary opposition*," mentioned in the text. The nature, object, and duration of that imperfect concert between them, and the causes which led to the dissolution of it, gave rise to great speculations at the time; many writers, as well as our author, allude to it.

The following letters and extracts, from the correspondence of Mr. Fox, afford a clear insight into the private motives and connexions of both politicians during the transaction, and at the same time exhibit some traits of character, and give a lively picture of what passed in public. They have never been printed, and may serve to make the view taken of the parties by the author more intelligible to his readers.

Letter from Mr. Fox, (afterwards Lord Holland), to the Marquis of Hartington, (afterwards Duke of Devonshire).

My Dear Lord, November 26, 1754.

You would be with reason angry, if, after your commands, I let such a day as yesterday pass, without being the occasion of a letter to you. I did not come in till the close of the finest speech that Pitt ever spoke, and, perhaps, the most remarkable;

of which I can give your lordship a true, though it must be a hearsay, account.

Mr. Wilkes, a friend it seems of Pitt's, petitioned against the younger Delaval, chose at Berwick, on account of bribery only. The younger Delaval made a speech on his being thus attacked, full of wit, humour, and buffoonery, which kept the house in a continual roar of laughter. Mr. Pitt came down from the gallery, and took it up in his highest tone of dignity. He was astonished when he heard what had been the occasion of their mirth. Was the dignity of the House of Commons on so sure foundations, that they might venture themselves to shake it?—Had it not, on the contrary, by gradations been diminishing for years, till now we were brought to the very brink of the precipice, where, if ever, a stand must be made? High compliments to the Speaker,—eloquent exhortation to Whigs of all conditions, to defend their attacked and expiring liberty, &c. Unless you will degenerate into a *little assembly, serving no other purpose than to register the arbitrary edicts of one too powerful subject*, (laying on the words *one* and *subject*, the most remarkable emphasis). I have verified these words by five or six different people, so that your lordship may be assured they were his very words. When I came in, he was recapitulating; and ended with "*our being designed, or likely* (I cannot tell which he said), *to be an appendix to—I know not what—I have no name for it.*" Displeased, as well as pleased,

allow it to be the finest speech that was ever made; and it was observed, that by his first two periods, he brought the house to a silence and attention, that you might have heard a pin drop. Except the words marked, observe that I do not pretend to give your lordship his words, but only the purport of his speech, of which a good deal was on bribery, I suppose, and the manner of treating it, which so much tended to lower, what was already brought too low, the authority of the House of Commons. The Speaker shook him by the hand, ready to shake it off; which, I hear, gave almost as great offence as the speech. I just now hear the Duke of Newcastle was in the utmost fidget, and that it spoiled his stomach yesterday.

Legge got up after Pitt; gave his *assent* and *consent* to the maintenance of the dignity of the House of Commons, which, he hoped, they would think best maintained by a steady adherence to Whig principles, on which, *whether sooner or later, whatever is to be my fate*, I am determined to stand or fall. This, I suppose, meant for Murray, who looked pale and miserable, most remarkably so; but neither he nor any body else said a word.

I have not done yet: for the committee last night afforded another extraordinary scene. The Reading petition was ordered on a day agreed upon; then a day very soon after it was moved for Colchester; when Pitt moved a later day, as Reading would take time, demanding their best attention, as it regarded a noble

lord: he then made a panegyrick on Lord Fane, to make which was undoubtedly the sole motive of his speaking; nor did he say one word on the cause. This needed not have called up a Secretary of State; but Sir Thomas Robinson rose, and with warmth, among other things asserted, that it would be a short cause, and on the side of the sitting member, a *poor* cause. Pitt handled him roughly. Sir Thomas answered with passion; and Pitt replied. I then spoke, (for I dread what your lordship foresaw might be offered, and thought these things tended to it). I expressed great regard for Lord Fane; and excused Sir Thomas Robinson's irregular and blameable expression, by his twenty years residence abroad, where he had done honour to himself and to his country, and which easily accounted for his total inexperience in the matters now before us: he did not like it. Pitt and he had talked of his great office; and Sir Thomas Robinson said, it was well known he had not been ambitious of it. Pitt believed it; and gave him to understand, that if any body else [had been so], he would not have had it. Your lordship may believe I did not, at the greatest distance even, touch this part of the matter.

Your lordship may believe much speculation ensued; and it was pleasant to see, when the committee rose, the whole form at once into knots of two, three, or four whisperers, who, I suppose, did (what I cannot yet do), make some conclusion. I fancy this fire breaking out yesterday, might be a great deal owing

to accident; but break out I knew it would, and the Duke of Newcastle may thank himself for the violence of it, having, since you went, owned to Pitt, that he had acquainted the king with part of their last conversation; adding, like an ideot,—*to do you good—to do you good:* and that he had not mentioned that part of it which could do him harm. Thus we are already got to a point, which I hardly thought a whole sessions could have brought us to. The event I know not. If your lordship should think it would be the offer you mentioned, a more disagreeable, delicate, embarrassing, and if accepted, a more disgraceful affair, could not happen.

Adieu.

Your ever obliged.

Mr. Fox to Lord Hartington.

My Dear Lord, Thursday, November 28, 1754.

More news.—Pitt entertained us again yesterday; and I never wished more than yesterday for your lordship, for the pleasure it would have given you. The two Beckfords *only*, and very stupidly, opposed the army; I answered very short, and without going in the least from the purpose. Lord Barrington and Nugent made unnecessary and fulsome speeches; both declaring the extreme popularity not only of his Majesty but of his ministers, and that *there were no Jacobites in England.* Nugent flattered the Duke of New-

castle by the name even of the first lord of the treasury, and not without allusion to Pitt's Monday speech. Pitt, angry perhaps at this, did not however say a word of it. But (after treating the question in a masterly way, and on a very different foot from what they had done, in three and four sentences), introduced his opinion of Jacobitism; of the tendency of too great security on that head; and of that seminary of disaffection, Oxford. He introduced the last in the prettyest manner in the world. Nugent had said, that many who thought they had nursed up Jacobites were extremely surprised when the trial came to find they were not such. He lived in the country a good deal, and rural images presented themselves. He had seen a hen that had hatched duck-eggs, with surprise see them follow, whenever the water came in view, what sense and nature, not she, had taught them. Pitt, after talking gravely and finely on the subject, said this ingenious image struck him; "for, Sir, I know of such a hen," &c.; which he most delightfully brought out to be the University of Oxford: but begged them "not to be too sure that all she hatched would ever entirely forget what she had taught them." He was nearly (perhaps quite), single now; but he wished he might not live to see the day, when, not with declamation, not with anger, (which Nugent had accused him of), but with deep concern of heart, those who would not listen to him now should say, when it was too late, "you were in the right;" (this was for old Horace).

Sir Roger Newdigate answered *pro forma*. Pitt rose again, and told the story of what had happened to him in a party of pleasure at Oxford lately; a story told most elegantly, most inimitably: Oxford had nothing to say. He made his inferences as before; and in both speeches every word was *Murray;* yet so managed, that neither he nor any body else could or did take public notice of it, or in any degree reprehend him. I sate next Murray; *who suffered for an hour*. Old Horace advises Pitt, Legge, and me, not only to be easy, but to be cheerfully active, and says the old Whigs will hate us if we are not; in short, advises more than the Duke of Newcastle can even presume to *wish*. I see no Whiggism in this. And as it is clear now that the House of Commons are to have no share, and that Lord Chancellor, Lord Granville, and Duke of Newcastle are determined to depress them, not to resist seems too much to be expected. He talks much of the Duke of Devonshire; but I fancy and hope we shall find your family as formerly, and other noble families too, ready to prevent what old Horace, without a pretence of reason, strangely adopts; and that you will not be inclined to think, that taking all from the H. of Commons is the way to preserve Whig liberty. The Lords stand between the crown and the privileges and liberties of both Peers and Commons: and after we are nothing, you will not long continue what you wish to be. Lord Granville embraced Murray yesterday; and was

heard to say, "Resolution must be shown." What that lord means, whether mischief or success to Duke of Newcastle, is hard to guess.

It is the universal opinion that business cannot go on as things now are, and that offers will be made to Pitt or me. On this subject Pitt was with me two hours yesterday morning. A difficult conversation; I managed it, I think, as well as such a conversation could be managed: I am sorry it is too long to give you any account of in a letter. The result of this is, and of every other shall be, that I will be as prudent as I can be with honour; but no suspicion, I promise your lordship, shall be fixed on honour, though it should be necessary to depart from all prudence to preserve it. Legge has taken his party, I think, and will be softened no more. I think Arundel may venture to say, that the *Curl* he foretold is come. There are symptoms of Lord Egmont's having been talked to; and certain verified tokens of union between Murray, Sir G. Lee, and some Tories. Pitt assures me, it is the *Testament politique* of Lord Bolingbroke, lodged in great hands; and really brings more circumstances than your lordship would imagine to warrant this assertion. If so, Horace is not only working hard to fix the sole power of the Duke of Newcastle *now*, but in the end to accomplish a scheme of Lord Bolingbroke's; they are not *(just the)* two men in the world he is most obliged to: so that is strange. But that he should call it old and true Whiggism is more

than strange, it is absurd, and indeed provoking. Except what in my last I told your lordship of Monday night, I have not said a word that can possibly be misinterpreted.

Adieu! do not expect another debate by Saturday, for I shall not go to the House: there is nothing to do there to-morrow.

Adieu—Adieu.

Melcombe's Diary, Page 319. May 9, 1755.

Mr. Pitt came to Lord Hillsborough's, where was Mr. Fox, who stepping aside, and Mr. Pitt thinking he was gone, the latter declared to Lord Hillsborough, that all connexion between him and Mr. Fox was over,—that the ground was altered—that Fox was of the cabinet and Regent, and he was left expósed, &c.; that he would be second to nobody, &c. Mr. Fox rejoining the company, Mr. Pitt being heated, said the same and more to him; that if Fox succeeded, and so made way for him, he would not accept the seals of Secretary from him, for that would be owning an obligation and superiority, which he would never acknowledge: he would owe nothing but to himself;—with much more in very high language, and very strange discourse. Mr. Fox asked him, what would put them upon the same ground; to which Pitt replied, a winter in the cabinet and a summer's regency.

Pitt talked the same over again to Lord Hillsborough, who endeavoured to soften matters; but Pitt

was unalterable, and desired Lord Hillsborough as a friend, to take an opportunity of telling Mr. Fox, that he wished there might be no further conversation between them on the subject; that he esteemed Mr. Fox, but that all connexion with him was at an end.

Mr. Fox to Lord Hartington.

My Dear Lord, Tuesday, May 13, 1755.

Mr. Ellis will have given your lordship an account of what had passed in Lord Hillsborough's garden before he left us. Yesterday it was confirmed with the utmost civility, professions of friendship to me, and enmity to the Duke of Newcastle, and to Stone, and to Murray. He blamed me for nothing; but we were upon different lines, not opposite, but converging, (a word I do not quite understand). However, we are to act separately, as shall seem best to us, and wish one another perfectly well. I do believe he has no treaty, nor views of treaty, with Duke of Newcastle. Nor can I guess what he can have in view at Leicester House, where, however, I am informed (how truly I do not know), that he is better, and where I have good information that my friend Stone is extremely out of favour. Upon the whole, I cannot understand what his view is, nor do I indeed comprehend what he *says* on the subject. I dare believe in great measure from those feelings Ellis told you of, and points to nothing yet decided in his own

mind. His Royal Highness the Duke wishes it may not be known; which your lordship will, I hope, approve of; and thinks it may be better for me, and is by no means worse in any view.

At all events I am in Pitt's opinion, given me upon honour, blameless. I have not time to enter on any other subject, and must beg your lordship to show this to Mr. Ellis. I long to hear that in taking, as Mr. Pitt expresses it, the thorn of Ireland out of the Duke of Newcastle's side, you have not hurt yourself. I think there is great reason to believe you may make every thing easy; and that it may be so is among the warmest and sincerest wishes of,

My Dear Lord,

Your ever obliged and ever faithful, humble servant,

(Signed) H. Fox.

May 13, 1755.

To divert your lordship and Mr. Ellis, and nobody else, I must tell you, that when Lord Hillsborough reported to Doddington that Pitt had said to him (in a strain, however, that was quite altered yesterday), viz.—"that if Mr. Fox went into administration, *he would not be Secretary of State; afterwards, he would not take it by his means*," he is in the right (says Doddington):—

"Presumptuous Fox! the gods take care of Cato."

There is wit in this, and I fear some justness of observation too.

Adieu.

Mr. Fox to Mr. Ellis.

Dear Ellis, June 2, 1755.

When I say that I am in doubt whether there was more of good sense or of kindness to me in the letter you sent me in Lord Hartington's packet, I need not add that I am extremely obliged to you for it. Pitt has no treaty with the Duke of Newcastle: his frank and voluntary declarations (when I last saw him), of contempt for his Grace, of indignation that such a genius should conceive, much more succeed in, an attempt to make fools of all mankind, of resolution to take every opportunity of destroying, or at least bringing within narrow bounds, his power, would be (if he were in treaty), such dissimulation, as I think is not in Pitt's nature: besides, I am pretty sure the Duke of Newcastle does not at present intend to treat with any body. His treatment of the Duke, whom he makes use of as he does of every body else, as far as is absolutely necessary and no more, convinces me, that as yet at least he intends to make next winter pass as the last did. I think Pitt has his managements at Leicester House; but by what channel, to what view directed, or with what success, I do not know. If Pitt and I have future free communication, it must be because we chuse it, we are neither of us bound to it. His conversation at Holland House altered nothing in substance of what was declared at

North End; though it was more than polite, friendly to the highest degree.

I could get nothing out of old Horace, whom I saw yesterday. At last I asked him what he thought Pitt would do next sessions; and he told me, that he verily thought he was embarrassed, and come to no resolution what to do. Horace goes to Norfolk this week, and talks of not coming to town next winter. I wish he may not.

One thing pleases me greatly, and it is the only thing that pleases me at all, to see Lord Hartington act the part he does, and show himself so equal to the greatest that can be allotted him; and the greatest will one day or other fall to his share. If endeavours are used here to make him return, he must not yield to them: I dare say he will consult you. If he does, advise him to stay and call his parliament soon. The Duke of Newcastle and Lord Chancellor, and above all the Duke of Dorset, want him to come away: you may see their reason. But the Duke, the Duke of Devonshire, and Horace Walpole, are for his staying, as I am most heartily; who for my own sake must wish him here.

The Duke and Lord Hartington think the less what has passed between Pitt and me is known the better. I dare say you think so too, and do not find but that we are in the world supposed to be as much connected together as ever we were. Adieu, my dear Ellis. If any thing happens worth your notice, I shall write

immediately; but I rather think nothing will, and that this will be the last letter you will be troubled with till your return from

Your ever obliged,

H. Fox.

Extract from a Letter of Mr. Fox to Lord Hartington, dated June 2, 1755.

The Duke of Devonshire bids me tell you, that from the Duke of Newcastle, or Lord Chancellor, or any minister, he has not heard Ireland once named since your lordship went, which of itself is symptomatical enough of the contrary of what your lordship wished and expected; but he adds, there is an industrious avoiding to participate with him any thing that is not absolutely necessary, from his situation and that of foreign affairs, to communicate. In a word, the Duke of Newcastle is so far from courting, that he seems afraid of being courted, which he is in no danger of. The Duke thinks exactly as your lordship does, of the motives and effects of Mr. Pitt's declaration to me, and joins no less with you in wishing that it may not be known, but the appearance of close connexion kept up; which may be easily done, because in fact, we have no inclination I believe to quarrel. He has managements, I do think, at Leicester House; which, like every thing at that court, are inscrutable. He has some with the Duke of Newcastle. The Duke of Newcastle and Lord Chancellor are ill there, and

trying to be better, I believe at the Duke's expense, as yet without success. Of this, that is, of the point on which they are wanting, and the means by which they are endeavouring, reconciliation with the princess, I am not sure; but that they are ill and mean to be better, is certain.

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Fox to Lord Hartington, dated Wednesday, July 16, 1755.

You may remember how abrupt Pitt's declaring off at Lord Hillsborough's was, and done as if it were absolutely necessary it should be done that very day (an observation I made often to Lord Hillsborough), and I dare say your lordship was not quite satisfied any more than I was myself with what we both conjectured to be the reason of it. There is now some light thrown upon it, which is very disagreeable. Stone is ill at Leicester House. The Duke of Newcastle tells every body, and Lord Waldegrave tells me in confidence, that the reason of it is his transaction with me of last summer, and continued desire of bringing me into the ministry. I need not tell your lordship that I am considered there in no other respect than as belonging to the Duke, the jealousy of whom increases, and appeared very conspicuous in accepting awkwardly, and then more awkwardly rejecting the Duke's proposal to his nephews to go to Portsmouth lately. The princess avows Lord Egmont more, and meddles more this summer than

she has yet done. Pitt (through Lord Egmont it is supposed), has made his way there a little; and Cresset's discourse relative to Pitt is very, very different, from what it was four months ago. Pitt then, finding himself desperate at St. James's, endeavoured at the reversion, and found that incompatible with any *liaison* with the Duke; and that I was tied and bound to his Royal Highness was, you know, one of his reasons why he could not be on the *same ground* with me. At the same time the Duke of Newcastle is not well there. She looks coldly on him, and received him coldly in an audience he lately had with an intent to ingratiate himself by the utmost confidence. This Lord Waldegrave thinks is political, and not unalterable; but perhaps rather put on in order to draw more court from the minister, and let me add, perhaps to frighten him from any conjunction with the Duke. And perhaps it has its effect; though when Lord Waldegrave about a month ago asked the Duke of Newcastle why he did not see me at Clermont, he laid it to Lady Catharine Pelham and Lord Lincoln. Lord Egmont is better than any body with the Prince, which must be owing to his mother; with her Cresset and Egmont alone have interest. Dr. Lee is supposed with her privity to have refused the Exchequer Seals; and though he and Egmont do not love one another, I believe they are both coming to an understanding with Pitt. The Duke of Newcastle

intends to make use of it to bring about what he most desires, and, as Lord Waldegrave believes, means to treat with Pitt and them; which, as he cannot make him Secretary of State, will only tend to keeping me down, and the princess in good humour with him. I think the king must be made acquainted with the situation of this part of his family, and I fancy he will; because Lord Waldegrave, who you know is a very worthy man, is very much hurt at the jealousy and fear, and consequently hatred, he sees in his pupil of the Duke. His own having no interest there, I verily believe he does not care about, otherwise than as it is a symptom of, and owing to that aversion, which he in vain endeavours to remove.

Mr. Pitt's views during the negotiation are very obvious from his conversation as reported in the following passage of Doddington's Diary. He had naturally insisted on there being men of authority in the House of Commons; ministers who should have "*access to the crown, habitual, frequent, familiar access, to tell their own story, to do themselves and their friends justice, and not be the victims of a whisper.*" And though he appears to have been less satisfied with Mr. Fox than the latter supposed, his own account of the

matter to Doddington confirms the conjectures in the letters respecting his motives in declaring off at Lord Hillsborough's.

Lord Melcombe's Diary, September 3.

I asked him, if he had communicated it (that is, a concerted plan of opposition) to Mr. Fox? He answered, No, nor did he design to do it; he would tell me the whole of his thoughts upon that matter: that he wished Mr. Fox very well, and had nothing to complain of; but that they could not act together, because they were not on the same ground: that Mr. Fox owned to him that he (Fox) was not *sui juris;* he could not blame him for it, but he, who was *sui juris*, could not act in connexion with one who was not. He (Pitt) was ready, in the last session, to proceed any lengths against the Duke of Newcastle; but when it came to the push, Mr. Fox acknowledged he could not, and went on, through the whole session, compromising every thing when it began to pinch—the Reading election; the linen affair; and when Ireland began to be a thorn, Mr. Fox's great friend, Lord Hartington, was to take it out: that by these means, Mr. Fox had taken the smooth part, and had left him to be fallen upon: Fox had risen upon his shoulders, but he did not blame him; and he only showed me, how impossible it was for two to act together, who did not stand upon the same ground. Besides this, Mr. Fox lived with his greatest enemies, Lord Granville,

Messrs. Stone and Murray. Mr. Fox was reported by the Duke of Newcastle, that he had lately offered himself to the Duke—I here interrupted Mr. Pitt, by saying, I was confident it was false: he said, he knew the Duke of Newcastle was a very great liar, and therefore, if Mr. Fox denied it, he should not hesitate a moment which he should believe.

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THE END.

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